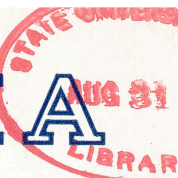


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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE

Dr. John Rekem

Slovakia, the eastern part of Czecho-Slovakia, is today only a small territory, measuring 18,859 square miles. It is inhabited prevailingly by the Slovak nation, a compact, independent national group which belongs to the Indo-European race and to the large Slovanic family of peoples.

The Slovak nation at this writing numbers a little over four million people within the confines of Slovakia. There are over two million in the United States, about a million in Hungary, some 400,000 in the Czech lands of Czecho-Slovakia, and numerous minorities in other countries (France, Belgium, Brazil, Argentina, Germany, Canada, England, Yugoslavia, Sweden, and Australia).

Because one of the most diacritical marks of an "independent nation" is its language, separating or distinguishing one nation from the rest of the social groups forming nations, it may be edifying to review briefly the historical development of the Slovak language as a manifestation of the ethnic individuality of the Slovak nation.

THE ORIGIN OF SLOVAK CHRISTIAN CULTURE

The ancient Slovaks — penetrating into the territory of the Danubian Basin sporadically from the second century to the fifth, and thereafter in greater numbers — were exposed to various cultural influences. In the first place it was the influence of the Christian religion, Christian culture. Christianity came to Slovakia not only from Germany (the archbishoprics of Regensburg, Passau and Salzburg) but also from northern Italy (1). It came to them

from the people who could not speak the language of the Slovaks. The great impetus to Christianity in Slovakia came from Byzantium with the advent of the apostles SS. Cyril and Methodius in 863. The advent of these two saintly brothers meant a fundamental break-through in the history of Slovak culture and the history of the Slovak nation in general. They brought the foundation of Slovak ecclesiastical literature to the territory of the Danubian "**Slovieni**" — the forefathers of present-day Slovaks — to whom the Bulgaro-Macedonian dialect was more intelligible than German.

1. The origin of Slovak ecclesiastical literature is directly connected with the Slovak state of Great Moravia inasmuch St. Cyril (Constantine) tackled the problem of composing the Slovak alphabet when he was given the task of going to Rastislav's principality among the Danubian "**Slovieni**" with the expressed purpose of preaching the Gospel in their language. Therefore, the impulse to write the first Slovak books and to compose the Glagolitic alphabet was given by a Slovak ruler.

2. SS. Cyril and Methodius continued in their creative work of the Slovak ecclesiastical language after their advent in Slovakia (2).

3. In the work of translating and writing, SS. Cyril and Methodius were aided by their Slovak pupils, especially by the group under Bishop Gorazd (3).

4. The Slovak people accepted the Slovak ecclesiastical tongue as its own, inasmuch this literary language differed only dialectically from the related language which they spoke at that time. The gigantic strides made by Christianity in Slovakia after the advent of SS. Cyril and Methodius is proof of this, as are also the numerous monasteries which sprang up in Slovakia from the 9th to the 13th centuries.

5. The Slovak ecclesiastical language was recognized as the language of the Danubian Slovaks by foreign countries (4).

6. When Popes Adrian II and John VII deigned to approve the Slovak language as the language of sacred

liturgy in the land of the Slovaks (5), they placed it on the same level with the other liturgical languages of that time (Hebrew, Greek, Latin). In effect, they made them culturally independent and secured for them spiritual freedom and thereby equating the eastern elements with the western, Byzantium with Rome, organically assimilating them. Indeed, they roused and strengthened the feeling of national individuality and awakened appropriate awareness which is necessary for cultural aggression (6). This then was supplemented also with the independent Slovak ecclesiastical organization which included the entire ethnic territory of the Slovaks in Pannonia, Slovakia, and Moravia. With the influence of this independent organization, the Slovaks also had political independence.

For these six reasons the Slovak nation and its historians regard the language of the liturgy of SS. Cyril and Methodius as a part of history of Slovak literature and an organic part of the general history of the Slovak nation.

The correctness of the evaluation of this historical fact is further confirmed by these reasons:

1. In the Cyrilo-Methodian memoirs connected with Great Moravia there are found, even if isolatedly, distinct and lexical Slovakisms (7).

2. The Cyrillic literary and ecclesiastical tradition remained alive in Slovakia even after Latinization took over, when the Latin culture and alphabet came to prevail in Slovak literary history (8).

LATIN OVER SLOVAK

With the introduction of the Latin liturgy, which took place in the 13th century, a cultural switch resulted. The Slovak cultural basis yielded to the Latin. Latin became the language not only of the liturgy and science, but also became the medium of communication of all public life in Hungary. The higher and lesser nobility used it in political and social life. Slovakia had a large number of the lesser nobility, the "zemani." They, too, adopted Latin as the means of communication. The languages of the individual nationalities were pushed to the background, even

though we cannot say that they were completely ousted from public life. Slovak, like Magyar and the rest of the languages of the peoples of Hungary, continued to be the means of communications of the masses, and the people continued to use it to create their popular compositions. In 1460, for example, we find songs composed in the Slovak vernacular about "Michael Szilagyi and Václav Had'mázi" (9). Also various songs and many legends about good King Mathias who was a special friend of the living language of the people, because he was brought up in their environment.

When the Polish clan of the Jagellos came to the Hungarian and Bohemian thrones, we again see that the Slovak language came to use in the court. Literary memorials of King Vladislav II show linguistic traces of all the Slavonic nations over which he ruled. The letter he wrote to the people of Bratislava in 1492 contains traces of the Slovak, Polish and Czech languages (10). When it came to the spoken word in the Hungarian Assembly, the King was careful to adapt himself linguistically to the Slovaks who at that time, culturally and politically, still formed the nucleus of the Hungarian State. On February 9, 1492, Vladislav opened the Hungarian Assembly in Budín using the Slovak language. His speech was then translated into Magyar by Bishop Valentine of Varadín (11).

The years of the 11th to the 15th century were very trying years for the land of the Slovaks. Just when the Slovak element had almost completely assimilated the wild Magyar hordes, the Cumans, relatives of the Magyars, tore into Slovakia in the 12th century and devastated the central Danube territory. Also in the 12th century, Slovakia was invaded and pillaged by the Tatars. And during the reign of Andrew II (1205-1235), the crusading armies, marching through Slovakia, did not spare Slovakia and its inhabitants either.

The struggle of various dynasties and noblemen for the throne of Hungary in those years (Matthew Čák on the side of Václav against Charles Robert of the House of Anjou), and then the wild Czech Hussite invasions, were not favor-

able for cultural development. Nevertheless, Gothic culture, which bloomed in the 14th and 15th centuries in Slovakia, let its rich memorials not only in buildings and other creations, but also in the verbal art. It is unfortunate that domestic struggles for the throne, the Turkish wars, and the stormy rebellions of the malcontents in the 17th century destroyed most of these precious architectural and literary acquisitions (12).

From the literary creation of the stirring 13th-16th centuries we nevertheless have the remnants of three kinds of literary memorials:

1. The compositions or letters written by the Slovaks in various Slovak dialects.
2. The literary items of Czech immigrants who settled in Slovakia and wrote in Czech which includes Slovakisms.
3. The correspondence of Czechs to Czechs in Slovakia, or to Slovaks in the Czech language (13)

Historians of Czech literature, failing to make a distinction between these letters and documents, include them in the category of Slovak literature, and inasmuch as some of them were written in Czech, they attempted to prove that Slovak literature is really only a branch of Czech literature, because, they said, the Slovaks at first wrote in Czech and only later "separatists" — such as Bernolák and Štúr — caused a rupture from Czech literature.

Qui bene distinguit, bene docet — et, vice versa, qui male distinguit, male docet. And this saying applies even in the question of the literary language in Slovakia before the time of Bernolák. Therefore, we must clearly distinguish between the three types of literary expression above.

The first group rightfully belongs in Slovak literature and Slovak history. Even though linguistically, especially considering the etymological side, many of these written memorials are written in the Slovak western dialect which resembles the Czech in many respects, they are nevertheless Slovak literary memorials (remembrances) because the western dialect forms a part of the Slovak language as much as do the dialects of central and eastern

Slovakia. They differ from the Czech in the omission of the soft "Ř" which is characteristic of the Czech language.

The second and third groups of written letters belong to Slovak literature only if we consider them in the wider meaning of the word, that is, as a collection of literary memorials that were written in Slovakia regardless of the language medium used. If, however, we consider it in the narrower sense, then these two groups, since they were not written in Slovak, rather belong to the literature of Czech emigrants. Never, however, can they be considered as proof against the existence of an independent Slovak language, because along with them and independent of them are proofs of independent Slovak creations. This is true not only in regard to the dialect of western Slovakia, which the Czechs like to confuse with the Czech tongue (14), but also in regard to the dialects of central Slovakia, Zvolen, Hont, etc. (15). Officially, liturgical books of the Roman Catholic Church, inasmuch as they used the national language, already then were oriented directly toward the central dialect (16).

Contemporary writers and those who used the western dialect regarded it as the Slovak language. Thus, for example, the productive Protestant preacher Daniel Sina-pius Horčíčka called his Latin-Slovak dictionary "**Neoforum latino-slovenicum**"; in 1678, Peter Hrabovský published his "**Manuale Latino-hungarico-slavonicum**" in Bardejov; in 162, Peter Benický wrote his "**Verše slovenské Petra Benického**" (The Slovak verses of Peter Benický); Daniel Krman (1663-1740), the Lutheran superintendent, used the Czech of the Kralice Bible for liturgical functions, but outside of that cultivated Slovak as is attested to by his work "**Rudimenta grammaticae Slavonicae in gratiam Slovaci-orum concinnata**."

While these grammarians used the western dialect of the Slovak language, the eminent Slovak scholar Mathias Belius (Funtík was his family name) at that time indicated that the central dialect was the genuine tongue of the Slovaks, praising it highly (17).

It is necessary, too, to mention something about the

record books of the various guilds which flourished in every Slovak town. The activities of these guilds (minutes of meetings, activities and regulations, etc.), where they are not written in Latin, are recorded in Slovak in the dialect of the respective guilds. Thus, for example, the guild records of Varín, which I made a personal study of, nowhere contain the typical letter of the Czech language, the soft "ř," but phonetically mark the spoken Slovak words of that time (18). The same may be said of the guild records of Prievidza (19), and of Trenčín (20) with their ancient complex orthography. However, the record books of Skalica — inasmuch as Skalica is located on the border of Slovakia and Moravia and was inhabited by Czech guildmasters — Czech influences are in evidence: where the Master of the guild was a Czech, the Skalica books are written in Czech; where the Master was a Slovak, the entries were in the western Slovak dialect without the typical Czech letter "ř" (21).

THE SLOVAK OF THE JESUITS

The thing that moved the soul of the Slovak people — the effort to participate in the cultural life of the world in its own spirit, in its own tongue, and on its own stand — found expression particularly in the efforts of the graduates of the Catholic University of Trnava. This university, founded in 1635 by Archbishop Peter Pázmány in Trnava, the cultural center of western Slovakia, was directed by the Jesuit Fathers. The University of Trnava soon became the cultural center for all of Hungary, but its influence was felt particularly in the Slovak-inhabited parts of the country.

The university print shop, in the residence of Canon M. Telegdy, developed into what at that time was considered a gigantic enterprise and it meant the enrichment of the spirituality of all Hungary and of all its nations. Here also Slovak literature was multiplied. It was here that the Slovak lesson books, later dictionaries and religious Slovak writings began to be published. The language of these literary works was the western Slovak dialect

which was not lexicographically uniform, with shades of the individual western dialects, but it differed from the Czech most typical expressions which are peculiar only to the Czechs and which no Slovak dialect possesses; and the absence of the Czech "ř" is plainly evident. Into this western Slovak dialect, which we call "Jesuit Slovak" to differentiate it from the western Slovak dialect which was grammatically codified by Bernolák, more and more forms of the central Slovak dialect gradually penetrated.

Thus, for example, in the book of the Senator from Žilina, convert Nicholas Tamaši which was published in 1691 and titled "Prava katolicka ruční knížka" (A True Catholic Manual), we find the words "**šťiastny, krestjansky,**" etc., which expressly are central Slovakian forms of present-day literary Slovak, differing from the Czech corresponding forms "**křesťanský, štěstný.**"

Besides this, the book "**Rituale Strigoniense,**" published by the Trnava Jesuits in 1715, is written in such beautiful form of the central Slovak dialect that it differs orthographically only to a very little extent from the Slovak which we find in the "**Rituale Slovacchiae**" which was published in the last decade.

The Slovak of the Jesuits — as written and then spoken in plays presented by the Jesuits — even though from the beginning not uniform and regulated by rigid orthographical rules, nevertheless is the Slovak language, because the lexicon and the etymology of this language place it in the category of the Slovak language. What is more, the authors of it regard themselves as Slovaks and claim Slovak as their language, expressly distinguishing themselves from other Slavonic nations, even from the Czechs (22).

The attempt of Jesuit Slovak to grammatically unify the language of the Slovaks was made before Bernolák's time, as will be demonstrated shortly, but it was not perfected until Bernolák, the Catholic priest, with his "**Dissertatio philologico-critica de literis Slavorum**" (published in Bratislava in 1787), united the Slovak linguistic and national effort on the basis of his orthography.

THE SALUTARY INFLUENCE OF JESUIT CULTURE

The Catholic University of Trnava, directed by the Jesuits, left indelible traces in the artistic life of Slovakia. We must credit the Jesuits for the fact that dramatic plays were staged not only in Latin, but also in the Slovak language. The students of the Jesuit colleges presented plays for the people, with a religious or secular theme, in Slovak. They presented a Slovak play in Bratislava already in 1628, and in the Spišské Podhradie in 1648. The actors of Trnava presented Slovak plays in many towns (Skalica, Levoča, Trenčín, etc.). They displayed their talents in Bratislava in the presence of the emperor himself, who expressed himself very favorably about their performance (23).

The epochal significance of the Jesuit lovers of Slovak linguistic art rests in their collection of religious hymns, which they published. In Slovakia, church singing in the language of the people flourished from the oldest times, when ancient Slovak was recognized as one of the few languages of liturgy. The hymn "**Hospodine pomiluj ny**" comes to us from the tenth century (24). It was followed by many others. Evidence of this is found in the introduction to the "**Cantus Catholici**" (written in the Spišská Kapitula on July 22, 1655, and published by the University of Trnava), where it is noted that, besides the custom in some churches of rendering the Canon of the Holy Mass in the language of the people, the custom of the choir singing the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo in the language of the people still obtains in all the Slovak churches of Pannonia (25).

So that irrelevant hymns in the vernacular might not find their way into the sacred liturgy, ecclesiastical synods from the earliest times issued rules and regulations pertaining to appropriate church hymns. Thus, in 1114, the Synod of Ostrihom (Estergom) ordered that only the hymns approved by the Synod should be sung in the churches. Similarly the Synod of Nitra, in 1494, ordered the daily reading of the Holy Mass with the singing of hymns in all churches under its jurisdiction in order to bind the people more intimately with the divine service.

Furthermore, in 1560, the Synod very emphatically commands the people to sing only those hymns in their churches for which there is proof that they had been used a hundred years before in the Catholic churches, or which were approved by the ecclesiastical authority. In 1629, the Trnava Synod directed all priests to see to it that the cantors, who teach singing of church hymns in the schools, use only the hymns which are approved by the General Vicar. The Synod, convened in Trnava, in 1638, sent out experts of church hymns to collect all hymns which the people sing and present them to the church authority for approval and publication (27).

The professors of the University of Trnava devoted themselves to this task. They made a collection of old Slovak church hymns, supplemented them with new ones, and, finally, B. Szölösi, in 1655, published the collection under the title: "**Canthus Catholici. Piesne katolícke a latinské i slovenské: nové i starodavné.**" This publication had an enormous significance, because it was the first published codification of Slovak church songs. It has enjoyed many editions.

The Slovak Jesuits continued to collect and to compose church hymns in the language of the people. Later they published a collection titled "**Cantiones Catholicae.**"

Many collections in manuscript of this era (17th–18th century) are preserved in Slovak monasteries and museums, foremost among them is the extensive work (1783) of composer Pavlín Bajan, a Slovak Franciscan. In the 19th century more and more church hymnals were published (28).

Worthy of mention, too, is the fact that secular Slovak songs, popular ballads, were also collected during the 16th and 17th centuries. The original manuscripts of many of these were placed in the building of the Slovak Museum Association of the Slovak Institute (Matica Slovenská) in Turčiansky Svätý Martin. When the Magyars outlawed the association, the material which they did not destroy was transferred to the Magyar National Museum.

Very many of the "**Canthus Catholici**" hymns were

placed in the latest "**Jednotný katolícky spevník** (Unified Catholic Hymnal), published in 1937, on account of their poetical and musical beauty and expression. Thus, the Jesuit cultural and artistic tradition of the 16th century even today is performing its mission and making its influence felt in Catholic Slovakia (29).

IN CONCLUSION

In its literary creations, the Slovak nation, both spiritually and linguistically, formed an independent linguistic group since the time of church-Slovak literature (the Great Moravian Empire). The existence of Czech literature of Protestant emigrants in Slovakia is not proof that the Slovaks did not have their own literature. When the Slovaks opened their homes hospitably to the literature of Czech exiles, this does not mean that they closed their homes to their own language, to Slovak literary creations. Unnatural are the literary-historical constructions of some Czech literary historians who, motivated more by imperialistic desires and political efforts than scientific objectivity, use all means to deny the independence of Slovak literary creations, denying even the existence of an independent Slovak language before the time of Bernolák (Pražák, Flajšhans, Trávníček).

In this treatise we have demonstrated that the Slovak people were conscious of their individuality long before Bernolák's time. What is more, there existed also an independent Slovak literary language as an expression of this independence. At first this language medium was not uniform: literary creations were written in the dialects of the various provinces. Later (16th–17th centuries) came the codification of western Slovak as the language of literature in the works of the Slovak Jesuits, referred to as the Slovak of the Jesuits. A. Bernolák did not cause a breach or split between the Slovak and Czech languages. There was nothing to split. Slovak and Czech, as mediums of expression of two nations, the Slovak nation and the Czech nation, existed independently from Cyrilo-Methodian times. This is a historic fact. Before Bernolák's time there

were independent efforts to codify the language of Slovak literature. Whether the language of Slovak literature was the dialect of Trnava ("Jesuit Slovak"), or that of upper Nitra (Camaldulian translation of the Bible), it was always the language of the Slovaks, as is evidenced by the titles of dictionaries and grammars of that time (Slavonicum, Slavonicae, Slovacciorum, Slovenské, Slovák, Slovensko, Slavus, Pannonus, etc.). The existence of a uniform "Czechoslovak" language is sheer fiction. It has no historical foundation and is simply the product of Czech imperialism. This was proved long ago, before the advent of modern Czech literary historians, by J. Kohút, an adherent of Osvald's literary group who made an extensive study of the question. Kohút wrote: "From all of this it follows that Catholic Slovaks (and they always were the vast majority of the Slovak nation) never wrote in pure Czech ... Slovak Catholics always used Slovak as their literary medium, being influenced more or less by books which were published in Czech and which they needed because of a lack of their own. From the pre-Bernolákian, that is the Jesuit, period, our Slovak language appears in books and in writing, which is more similar to the present manner of writing the older are the sources concerned" (30).

With its discoveries, the new Slovak literary historical school but confirms the truthfulness of Kohút's claim and finds newer and newer evidences of independent national and linguistic feeling and creativity among the Slovaks.

The objectiveless claim of the adversaries of the independent Slovak language, nay, even their claim that there was no independent Slovak national consciousness before Bernolák's time, is clearly refuted by the fact that quite some time before Bernolák's time (1762-1813), in 1728, John Baltazár Magin's (1682-1735) "**Murices ... Sive Apologia ...**" was published in defense of the political rights of the Slovak nation which formed a component part of Hungary. This apology, prepared by Magin at the request of the nobility estates of Trenčín, is the highest expression of Slovak national and political self-consciousness and

a defense of the Slovak language which is a symbol or the characteristic of the Slovak nation. If there were no other documentation to prove the existence of an independent Slovak language and Slovak nationalism before the time of Bernolák, then Magin's "Apologia" would alone be sufficient or adequate. However, the Lord be praised, there are also other evidences, like the translation of the Holy Writ into Slovak (1756) before Bernolák's time, as well as dictionaries, grammars, popular poetic creations, public and private correspondence, etc.

From this it follows that the Slovak nation did use its own Slovak language as a manifestation of its own individuality and medium of expression and understanding from the time of the church-Slovak literary memorials (the Great Moravian Empire). From the most ancient times, the Slovak language symbolized the Slovak nation and in the history of the Slovaks these two notions were correlative.

REFERENCES

1. The "**Cividský evangeliár**" contains evidence that the Slovaks had direct contact with centers of Christian civilization in Italy. Compare Ján Stanislav: "**Zo štúdia slovanských osobných mien v Evanjeliu cividskom,**" *Slavia* XVIII, 1947, pp. 87-100, and his "**Slovenskí pútnici do Talianska koncom VIII. a v IX. storočí,**" *Náš Národ*, III, 1944, pp. 89-96.
2. The completion of the translation of the Holy Writ on October 26, on the territory of Great Moravia
3. Ján Stanislav: "**Slovanskí apoštolovia Cyril a Metod a ich činnosť vo Veľkomoravskej ríši,**" Slovenská akadémia vied a umení (SAVU), Bratislava, 1945; A. A. Baník: "**Apoštol Gorazd, prvý raz v dejinách spomínaný slovenský kňaz, spisovateľ a svätec,**" *Kultúra*, IX, 1937.
4. Pope Hadrian II's letter to the Slovak princes Rastislav, Svätopluk and Kocel'... "in your language..." Also Pope John VII's Bull (880) in which he "legally approves and orders" the Slovak scripture for the Danubian **Slovieni**.
5. Pope John VII's Bull "**Industriae tuae**" to Svätopluk.
6. Jožo K. Šmálov: "Zástož katolíckej hierarchie v slovenskom národnom a kultúrnom živote, v MONS SANCTI MARTINI, Ružomberok, 1947, p. 60.
7. Šmálov, op. cit.
8. Evidence of this are the Cyrillian fragments found in the old codex of the library of the Spišská Kapitula. See also: Alojz

Miškovič's "**Spišské Cyrilské úlomky XII.-XIII. storočia (I), Ich Nález (III)**", Bratislava, 1929, pp. 80-81, and Valér pogorielov's "**Spišské Cyrilské úlomky XII.-XIII. storočia; ich popis, rozbor a otisk**" (III). pp. 81-87.

9. Ján Kollár: "**Národné Zpievanky**," Vol. 1, pp. 31-32, 45, and Vol. II, pp. 7 and following.

10. Czech and "Czechoslovak" historians violate history when, without regard to Vladislav Jagiello's origin and without regard for certain common orthographical similarities between Czech and Polish, they claim these common Polish-Czech forms as Czechism. The use of "**rz**" in some documents in Slovakia in the form not of "**Ř**" but "**RZ**" is not proof of a Czechism, but rather is evidence of Polish, especially when the persons using them are of Polish origin.

11. Ján Porubský: "**K stému Výročiu Literárnej Slovenčiny**," 1945, Obrana Press, Scranton, Pa., p. 73.

12. Gilbert L. Oddo: "**Slovakia and Its People**," Robert Speller and Sons, New York, 1960, pp. 27-70.

13. The Hussite Czechs invaded Slovakia in the 15th century for plunder and to fight against the Slovak nobility, who preferred a Polish Jagellonian to a Czech on the Hungarian throne.

14. The ill-famed Albert Pražák, Flajšhans, and others.

15. An analysis of these songs from the year 1576 on is in Ján Porubský's work; op. cit., p. 76.

16. The 1560 edition of the Ostrihom (Estergom) Ritual contains central-Slovak expressions, which sound very much like the Slovak of today (**krst**, **sobáš**, etc.).

17. Mathias Funtík, (1687-1749), in his work "**Institutiones Linguae Germanicae et Slavicae in Hungaria**" (Levoča, 1718); "In nothing is it behind either the seriousness and grandeur of Spanish, or the charm and smoothness of French, or the sublimity and force of English, or the wealth of meaning and emphasis of German, or the softness and euphony of Italy, or, finally, the imperious rigor of Magyar."

18. The guild books of Varín come from the years 1668-1714; some were placed in my library, others in the homes of individual guildmasters.

19. Mikuláš Mišík: "**Prievidzké cechy**," also his "**Mesto Prievidza**," and Ján Porubský, op. cit., p. 90.

20. Jozef Branecký: "**Zo starého Trenčína**," 1928, I-III.

21. Jozef Šátek: "**Náboženské pomery v Skalici od Reformácie do Jozefinizmu**," Spolok sv. Vojtecha (SSV), Trnava, 1946 (the Czech text of the guild book is quoted on p. 188, the Slovak on p. 200). František V. Sasínek: "**Cechovné artikule ševcov v Skalici r. 1615**," Slovenský Letopis III. pp. 310-314. Ivan Houdek: "**Cechovníctvo na Slovensku**," Turčiansky Svätý Martin, 1943.

22. Even Jaroslav Vlček, like other Czech literary historians, incorrectly claims that Štefan Dubnicay wrote in Czech and places his works in the Czech category. But Dubnicay, writing in the western dialect of Slovakia, did not use the typical Czech "**Ř**" or

"RZ" in his works. In the Latin foreword of his *"Eductus coluber tortuosus"* (1723), in the letter of the Bishop of Vratislava (Breslau; Wrocław in Polish), he differentiates between the Slovaks and Czechs ("Bohemi et Slavi"). See Ján Rekem's *"Štefan Dubnicay a jeho doba"* (in the chapter titled "Slovanské národné povedomie v diele Št. Dubnicaya"), Trenčín, 1942.

23. St. Jurovský: *"Jezuitské divadlo na Slovensku."*

24. According to Škultéty, it is necessary to seek the origin of this song in Slovakia.

25. Benedikt Szölösi, S.J. (1609-1656), in the introduction to *Cantus Catholici*, Trnava, 1655.

26. C. Péterfy: *"Sacra Concilia Eccl. R. Cath. in Regno Hungariae celebrata, I, 1741, p. 60 (cap. XLVI). "Nihil legatur vel cantetur in Ecclesia, nisi quod fuerit in Synodo collaudatum."*

27. Ján Pöštényi: *"Prívet, Jednotný Katolícky Spevník,"* Trnava, SSV, 1937.

28. The "large edition" of the *"Jednotný Katolícky Spevník"* (1937) mentions eight various hymnals which were published, some of which went into several editions.

29. For the history of Slovak spiritual songs of this era, see Dr. Ján Rekem's *"Teplánske duchovné piesne. Zo staršej eschatologickej poézie trenčianskeho Považia,"* Čelko, Trenčín, 1943.

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RED CZECH experts, including experts on police and espionage matters, are in Cuba to help Fidel Castro in his fight against American imperialism, according to reports. The head of a Cuban delegation, which arrived in Prague in July of this year, was headed by A. N. Jiminez, who was promptly awarded The Order of the White Lion, the highest Czech decoration. Raul Castro, attending the Spartacus Games in July, was also given the award. The Czech Reds have granted Cuba credits of \$20,000,000 and have undertaken to build eight factories worth \$32,000,000. And to think of it, the United States was responsible for the establishment of Czecho-Slovakia back in 1918!

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THE BRATISLAVA SEMINARY was allowed to accept 15 applicants even though 80 young men had ap-

plied. Last year 20 were allowed to take up studies for the priesthood. The NITRA diocese. in 1960, lost 15 priests by death, retirement, and "other reasons"; only one priest was ordained in that year. The TRNAVA diocese is short 240 priests. In 1961 only eleven priests were ordained for the whole of Slovakia. The Czech Reds of Prague continue their systematic persecution of the Catholic Church in Slovakia.

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THE "PRAVDA" of Bratislava (Sept. 26, 1961) translated a column by Drew Pearson and published it in Slovak. It had appeared in the NEW YORK MIRROR and dealt with the "Berlin issue." The Pravda article was titled "Čas a udalosti sú proti USA." (Time and Events Are Against the USA). Obviously it suited the Reds.

EXPELLEES AND THE EUROPEAN IDEA

BY OTTO VON HABSBURG

When Joseph Stalin seized upon the plan of Edward Beneš to expel the Germans from the Bohemian lands, and when Communism expanded the idea to include the entire "Intermare" area between the Baltic and the Adriatic, his intention was not only to do his faithful vassals a favor. All political measures adopted by Communist politicians have their place in the great plan of world revolution. The expulsion of German ethnic groups from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, which is continued in the indirect but uninterrupted flight of Germans from the German Soviet Zone, was supposed to render more difficult the stabilization of West Germany and that of all Europe, if not hinder it altogether.

It was supposed, furthermore, to pave the way for Communism. Moscow expected, as a consequence of the flooding of West Germany with expellees, that an "imminent revolutionary situation" would develop. It is perhaps Stalin's biggest disappointment after Potsdam that the hopes he pinned on the masses of pauperized and expropriated expellees were never realized. It is in fact the greatest "miracle" that has happened in West Germany — far greater and more meaningful than the "economic miracle" — that the expellees did not become the reserve army of communism but, on the contrary, a constructive force and the bearers of constructive thinking for all of Europe.

Moscow counted on it becoming impossible to integrate the expellees into the economy and society of West Germany. The West German State, it figured, or West German society would perhaps be incapable of adequately caring for the masses of expellees housed in vast barracks. Filled with resentment and bitterness, doubtful of a chance for return as well as of a new means of livelihood, overcome by camp psychoses and the will to destroy, the millions of expellees were expected in the eyes of the general staff of the world revolution, to become partisans and outriders of the Red offensive.

While the West Germans were being bled white on the modest attempt to provide for these homeless persons or at least keep them from starving to death, the victims themselves were expected, as social outcasts and expellees, to undermine legal security, prevent every form of political stabilization, burden the economy unendurably and thus succumb to the whisperings of Communist agents.

The "solution" of the refugee problem in the Soviet occupied zone, where they wanted to create an example of Marxist social policy by "land reform" and the settling of expellees as "new settlers," was supposed to entice those expellees residing in the West likewise to become champions of Communism. Hatred of the Americans, who by their "betrayal of humanity" were the alleged cause of all the trouble, the rupture of national solidarity of the German people by an unbridgeable gap between old and new citizens, the hopelessness of a situation from which revolution seemed but the only way out, and the classic union of national or nationalist passions with social-revolutionary impulses to national Bolshevism — all that appeared in 1945 to be a guarantee that the Communist revolution would advance to the Rhine within a very short time, and soon would go beyond the Rhine. It seemed, too, that its strongest pillars would be those who had caused their own misery.

There was a catchword that expressed everything the Communists expected from the expellees at that time: **Macedonians**. Just as pro-Bulgarian elements within Macedonia, which had become Serbian in 1913, not only fought against Serbian rule in the old homeland but became a constant revolutionary danger in their host country of Bulgaria, too, overthrowing governments, forming conspiracies, stirring up the people and trying to implicate the State in a policy fraught with risks, so the East Germans, the Sudetens, the Carpathians, Hungarian and Banat Germans were to have formed the explosive, with its fuse in Moscow, that would completely destroy Europe.

Many are the reasons for things having turned out differently, motives that coincided to give developments a turn

unforeseen by Moscow. First of all was the lack of caution by Stalin, who prematurely took off his mask in the Greek civil war; then the Czech putsch of February 1948, followed by the blockade of Berlin, the Bolshevization of China, and, finally, with the invasion of Korea, in this way touching off America's reaction to his policy of permanent revolution by the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the German currency reform and the re-establishment of a German State.

Nor should we forget either, the sober attitude of the American nation, which was prepared to revise dangerous mistakes just as radically as it had once succumbed to them, or the talents of the German people in the organizational, technical and economic field. The rapidly widening gap in the standard of living between people this side and the other side of the iron curtain was also important. All this and still more combined to cause Stalin's hopes to wither toward the end of his life, leading to a serious crisis of Communism between 1952 and 1956, which the West, however, did not know how to take proper advantage of.

The chief merit in the failure of the Beneš-Stalin concept is to be attributed to the expellees themselves, who, by remarkable self-discipline, moderation and objectivity, refrained from any policy of daring and revenge and, with minor exceptions, remained completely immune to Communist attempts at infiltration. They did not succumb for a minute to the danger of becoming the "Macedonians" of West Germany, but, instead, became the supporters of constructive European ideas.

It is one of the most significant achievements of the expellees that they have whetted the conscience of the free peoples and continually exhorted them to self-examination. International law, ever since the first world war, has increasingly fallen into decay, the concepts of right and wrong have become confused ever since they were turned over to the propaganda apparatuses and the whim of mass passions to interpret them according to their own discretion and misuse them for the interests of power.

In particular the motto of self-determination of peo-

ples, even during the interpretation of the Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson, was distorted beyond recognition and actually twisted to the opposite. The expellees have not simply started at the point at which the concept was perverted and hence debased. They related the demand for the right of self-determination to a large extent to a critical examination of German policy and to the political attitude of ethnic groups in the period prior to the first world war and in the thirties. They have seriously and in a thorough-going manner concerned themselves with the ethical motivation of the right to the homeland and have encouraged not only the experts on international and constitutional law in the free world, but, to an ever-growing degree, the theologians to explore the right to the homeland in conjunction with the right to self-determination, self-government and self-administration, and to acquire, by so-doing, guiding principles for a new order in Europe. In the Charter of the Expellees we find the first results of that process of examination of conscience, of historic study, and of practical political consideration of the possible and attainable.

That was but the beginning. With the renouncing of revenge and retaliation, an ethical principle was anchored in politics which had never before appeared with such clarity in the realm of international-legal considerations and in political aims. Today we can see in the Algerian issue that it was not just a question of problems touching on East Germany and the Danubian area. It is a surprising fact, and may well fill with satisfaction those expellees who come from old Austria, to know that the plans and proposals that were introduced by the French government toward a solution of the Algerian problem, approach those ideas that matured on Austrian soil between 1848 and 1918 and which were further developed by the Sudeten Germans and could be matured in the struggle for the recognition of the right to the homeland.

What formerly was a matter that concerned or appeared to concern only the Austrians and was understood by the peoples and ethnic groups of the Danubian Monarchy and of the German-Polish border area or the Baltic

States, today has become a question of the destiny of the free world and of Europe in particular. Africa, the Near East, India, and in Europe the regions in which there are still national issues this side of the iron curtain (South Tyrol), all need certain binding international-legal and constitutional-legal ideas and principles for solution and a new order, for satisfaction and settlement.

German expellees were the first to turn the attention of the free world to this vital problem and produced the first fruitful stimuli. The contributions to thoughts on solving the nationalities problem made by Karl Renner and Ritter von Lodgman, Ignaz Seipel and Josef Redlich, Adolf Fischhof and Franz Palacky, Aurel Popovici and Heinrich Lammasch, and, above all, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his "workshop," are today acquiring world-wide importance. It was the expellees who bridged the gap between past and present, between a territorially limited experimental station of co-living of various peoples in a State Community and the present global aspects of the question.

As Minister of Defense, Franz Josef Strauss, stated at the Sudeten German Day in Munich, 1960, it is important not only to proclaim a right but to examine within what framework and within what higher legal order it can most ideally be realized. At this very juncture the moderated conduct of the expellees proved a valuable maxim for all Europe. There are those who never tire of painting the expellee associations in Germany as disturbers of the peace, "revengists," and nationalists. Only the reverse, however, is true. The expellees were the first sizeable groups among the German people who displayed understanding for the integration policy of Adenauer and Schuman, who supported it and characterized the formation of supra-national European arrangements as a condition for a new peaceful order for all Europe, in particular for East Central Europe. In the Eichstätt Declaration of 1949, in the Detmold Declaration, and in the rapidly ensuing resolutions and decisions of numerous associations — particularly the Wiesbaden Agreement between the Sudeten Germans and the Czechs in exile — there appeared for the first time propo-

sals for a new European legal and State order within the framework of supra-State and supra-national organizations.

And that is quite natural, too. The expellees bring from their homeland a rich storehouse of experiences and traditions which are directed to the necessity of international and supra-national agreements and organizations, to the dovetailing of autonomous, State and supra-State facilities, to a common destiny and inseparability of vital communities in which different languages are spoken, with the right to linguistic and cultural autonomy, minority rights, and the complementing of territorial with personal self-administration. In the areas where once the expellees had lived for centuries, the national-State idea early proved to be problematical. The principal West European peoples looked upon the integral national State as an ideal ever since 1789, and retained their views into the 19th Century.

Whereas in France, Germany, and Italy the ideas of the great Europeans met with tough opposition, since people simply could not imagine that portions of national sovereignty could and must be yielded, the expellees very quickly realized that this was a vital condition for the realization of their claims to recognition of the right to the homeland and they unreservedly offered their services to the Europe of tomorrow. For them federalism was never a mere substratification of the over-all State into bureaucratically administered areas of sovereignty, but was always linked to a maximum measure of self-administration and responsibility of the lower strata. From this treasury of experience they could and still can give Europe very much.

In addition thereto are the temperament, spirit of enterprise, and economic adaptability of old pioneer and colonizing races. The German "economic miracle," particularly in its incipency, needed certain attributes which the Germans from the East possessed to a high degree. Plus the fact, that they had nothing to lose and a new livelihood to gain. Hence they were courageous enough to build a new economy from the ruins. The ambition to dispel the prejudices against those who arrived as "beggars," to

prove their ability, and not just to acquire formal political equality but the respect of their fellow citizens as well — all this contributed to the expellees' becoming a constructive European force in the economic sphere.

Finally, one may point to their importance as connoisseurs of the Eastern peoples and political conditions of East European life. Thus in a certain sense one can speak of a re-colonization. Eight centuries ago the big trek began: Germans and Dutch colonists bore European civilization eastwards. The progeny of these colonists came back to the West after 1945 as expellees. They did not come as beneficiaries but brought with them as working people, politically active leaders and the bearers of a culture, the readiness to rebuild a new Europe. They brought experience, skills, courage, and the concept of supra-national legal order.

One hundred years ago — on December 12, 1861 — Bishop Stephen Moyses of Slovakia led a delegation of Slovaks to Emperor Francis Joseph to protest against Magyarization and the oppression of his Slovak people. The Memorandum presented the Emperor requested equal rights for the Slovaks and that the territory of the Slovaks become a separate administrative unit, that is, that it become autonomous.

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Bishop Michael Buzalka, Auxiliary of the Trnava Apostolic Administration, died on Dec. 7, 1961, according to a very belated report. Born in Svätý Anton, Slovakia, Sept. 18, 1885, Bishop Buzalka was ordained priest July 14, 1908, and consecrated Bishop in Rome on May 15, 1938. He was rector of the Bratislava Seminary and, during the war, Military Ordinary for the Slovak Republic. In 1945, Bishop Buzalka was imprisoned, with two other Bishops and many Slovak priests by the Reds, but later released. He was

arrested again in 1950, and in the beginning of 1951 placed on trial with Bishops Vojtaššák and Gojdič. The kangaroo court sentenced him to life imprisonment as an "enemy of the State." With amnesty in 1961, Bishop Buzalka left prison to live under surveillance of the police at all times. They found him dead, kneeling by his bed, hands clasped in prayer. Significant it is that even the "Katólické Noviny" (The Catholic News) did not report the death of Bishop Buzalka, patriot and martyr for the cause of his Church and his Slovak people.

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Bishop Joseph Čársky, Titular Bishop of Tagora and apostolic administrator for the diocese of Košice, Slovakia, died March 12, 1962, and was buried four days later in the cathedral crypt after appropriate religious services. Bishop Čársky was born in Gbely, Slovakia, May 9, 1886, ordained priest July 26, 1909, and named bishop by the Vatican July 14, 1925.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF AMERICAN SLAVISTS ON THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE

Joseph M. Kirschbaum, Ph.D.

I

Misconceptions of American Slavists on Slovak literature which have been discussed here previously ⁽¹⁾ had been caused to a great extent by the confusion of views regarding the Slovak language.

The confusion was created, on the one hand, by Slavists and literary historians who failed to draw a proper distinction between the native or spoken language of the Slovaks and their written or literary language, which, as we have seen, was first the Old Church Slavonic, afterwards the Latin language, then Biblical Czech, used mainly by the Slovak Protestant minority, and then the literary Slovak based on Slovak western dialects, and finally the revised present form, based on central Slovak dialects.

On the other hand, the misconceptions have been intentionally spread by some Czech Philologists and literary historians who were influenced by political views and aspirations, which the American Slavists accepted without the necessary caution required in scholarly works.

As a result, we find in many American symposia on the Slavic peoples or in works on philology and Slavic languages either the Czech thesis that the Slovak language is merely a dialect of the Czech, or that Slovak became a literary language only at the beginning or in the second half of the nineteenth century. We also find that the sources of information or reference used by American Slavists are rather scarce and obsolete and that the subject has been treated by scholars who hardly had an opportunity to be thoroughly acquainted with the history and development of the Slovak literary language and its position among Slavic languages.

Before pointing out the misconceptions in American symposia and surveys of Slavic languages, we may perhaps say that the claim that Slovak is but a dialect of the

Czech language was not based on facts of history or philology. It was a biased opinion of those who tried to give a scholarly basis to political aspirations denying to the Slovaks the right to their independent national and cultural life. And there rest also the origins of the erroneous thesis that Slovak began to be used as a literary language only from the second half of the nineteenth century. In the views of European Slavists, including the Russian and Czech philologists, it is clear, as we shall see, that the Slovak language is by every right of its origin and development an independent tongue, having its rightful place of equality among Slavic languages. And it has also been accepted that Slovak has been used as the language of literature from the sixteenth century, and was codified before the end of the eighteenth century.

Slovak philologists and linguists (Bernolák, Šafárik, Czambel, Škultéty, Bartek, Stanislav, Novák, Paulíny) rejected, during the last two centuries, Czech theories and looked for linguistic criteria to determine the origin and the main characteristics of the Slovak language. They reviewed the historic forms of the Slovak tongue and by scholarly methods and comparative study of Slavic languages they arrived at conclusions which were ultimately accepted by the present-day Czech as well as other Slavic philologists and linguists.

Misconceptions of American Slavists refer, as we have said, to the relation of the Slovak and Czech, to the history of the Slovak literary language and to the role of foreign languages in Slovak literature.

In this respect we read not without surprise that even the well-known Roman Jakobson helped to spread the erroneous views. In his study *Slavic Languages*, he writes:

"Toward the middle of the same (i.e., the 19th) century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits) inaugurated their own literary language based on the central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech" (2).

We shall also see that even Czech philologists recognize today that Slovaks "inaugurated" their own literary language long before the middle of the 19th century, and

that we can speak only about a reform of the Slovak literary language in the nineteenth century ⁽³⁾. Secondly, the 19th century reform, linked with the name of Ľudovít Štúr, was "not based on the dialect of any single area, but represented a kind of "koiné" (cultural Slovak), based on the central Slovak dialects, eschewing features from both the eastern and western dialects ⁽⁴⁾. As for the usage of the Czech language, "Czech was sporadically used (with certain local modification) for administrative and still more occasionally, literary purposes," says correctly R. Auty ⁽⁵⁾. The reasons for this will be explained later.

Prof. Alfred Senn, in Strakhovský's **Handbook of Slavic Studies**, gives a more detailed and more elaborate description of the Slovak literary language. His classification of Slovak is certainly correct, but we could hardly agree with all parts of his definition. Prof. Senn says:

"Slovak...forms a connecting link with the South Slavic Slovenian and is more archaic than Czech. Otherwise differences between Czech and Slovak are not very great. Slovak became a literary language at the beginning of the nineteenth century...Czech and Slovak form the Czechoslovak group" ⁽⁶⁾.

In the same symposium another contributor, Otto Radl, admitted that "as early as 1635 in Trnava books were printed in different Slovak dialects,," but he states that it was only in 1844, in the period of Romanticism, that "the therefore common written language, the Czech, was being replaced by a newly-originated Slovak literary language." According to Radl "this movement had been begun at the end of the 18th century by the learned Slovak philologist Anton Bernolák who published several works in Latin in which he tried to show that the Slovaks were a separate nation and that they should therefore use their own distinctive written language based on dialects spoken in western Slovakia" ⁽⁷⁾.

A similar version can be found in Prof. S. Harrison Thomson's book "**Czechoslovakia in European History**," who says that "a deliberate effort to substitute for the written Czech then in use in Slovakia a language based upon a local dialect came from the "Catholic camp" only in 1790, when Anton Bernolák published a **Grammatica slavica**. However,

Prof. Thomson asserts, that "about the only followers Bernolák had were Catholic writers, and even among them the vogue for his grammar and dictionary soon died out... The year 1834-1835 is usually given," concludes Thomson, "as the date of the rise of written Slovak, although strictly speaking, Štúr did not make his first formal declaration until 1856" ⁽⁸⁾.

In Prof. Robert J. Kerner's symposium **Czechoslovakia** and in V. Bušek-N. Spulber's **Czechoslovakia Under Communism**, we find only slightly modified or re-worded versions of the theses mentioned above. "Catholic Slovaks under Bernolák tried to create with indifferent success a written Slovak dialect," we read in Kerner's symposium ⁽⁹⁾, and Bušek-Spulber's symposium gives the following genesis of the Slovak literary language:

... "the first attempts were made (aside from earlier sporadic ventures) to establish a distinct Slovak literary language in the last decade of the 18th century by Anton Bernolák (1762-1813) who selected the western Slovak dialects as a basis of the new literary medium; his suggestions, not elaborate linguistically, did not take permanent hold.

"The decisive step towards the establishment of a Slovak literary language was undertaken through the initiative of the Protestants. Ľudovít Štúr selected the central Slovak dialect for the Slovak literary medium. Beginning in the 1840's, several poets followed Štúr and used the new literary language with great skill" ⁽¹⁰⁾.

This version admits "sporadic ventures to establish a distinct Slovak literary language" before the last decade of the 18th century, but considers Bernolák's "suggestions not elaborated linguistically" and credits the Protestants with the merits, while Radl says the opposite!

All these misconceptions seem to be due, as we have mentioned before, in the first place to the uncritical acceptance of the politically motivated theses of Czech or at the Prague University educated Slavists. In the second place, the use of sources either long before superseded by new works or unilaterally selected, might have misled those Slavists who were trying to be scholarly objective.

In this respect even Prof. R. Jakobson's bibliography leaves much to be desired. We find in his bibliography only four works, two written by Slovaks and two by Czechs,

but none of them dealing with the history of Slovak language or with the problem of its relation to the Czech language. To a Slavist of Jakobson's renom   the fact could not be unknown that already Paul. J. Šaf  rik in 1826 wrote on the Slovak language and Slovak literature as being distinct from the Czech or other Slavic languages and literatures. Consequently the Slovaks could not "inaugurate" their own literary language "toward the middle of the 19th century."

Sources used by Prof. Senn, who undoubtedly tried to be objective, were better selected, but three of them favor the Czech thesis of "one Czechoslovak unit." He shows in his literature and references the following books:

J. Victorin: **Gramatik der Slowakischen Sprache**, 4th edition, Budapest, 1878; K. Meznik: **Die Slowakische Spaltung**, Euphorion, 1927; R. Jakobson: **Sur l'histoire et sur les relations mutuelles du tch  que et du slovaque**, Le Monde Slave, XIV, 1937, 353-366; V. V  zny: **Slovak Dialects**,   skoslovensk   vlastiveda, Vol. III, 1934.

Otto Radl, who contributed to Strakhovsk  y's **Handbook of Slavic Studies** a chapter on Slovak literature, did not show in his bibliography any work in Slovak or in foreign languages which he used or in which the reader could check Radl's opinions or complete his knowledge.

Closing our remarks we perhaps may say that not many American Slavists who wrote during the post 40 years on the Slovak language and literature speak or write Slovak or ever read Slovak literary works in the original. Some of them merely rephrased mistaken views published by Czech scholars and politicians; and several contributions to American symposia on Slovaks were written by Czechs. Reviewing the names of the Czech contributors we could not, however, say that any of them made his name as an expert on Slovak language or literature before coming to the United States.

II

LITERARY SLOVAK AND THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES

Scholarly studies of phonology, etymology, lexicology and grammar show that the Slovak language is distinct

from any other Slavic tongue. Even though this was not so clear and evident to Slavists of the 19th century when philology was in its infancy and used primitive methods, Slovak philologists and linguists always maintained this point of view.

After a century of clashes and discussions between the Czech linguists and — first the Slovak Catholic erudites who began to replace the Latin with Slovak already in the seventeenth century, and from the 1840's also with the Protestant leaders — the Slovak language has been properly classified as the real and original national tongue of the inhabitants of Slovakia since the dawn of history.

The historical development of Slovakia and geographical factors account for the fact that the Slovak language not only conserved many archaic forms and expressions common to all Slavs, but, remaining for centuries only a spoken vernacular of the people, it was affected merely by the influence of neighboring Slavic peoples. When it was codified, this happened in the era of the revival of Slavic peoples, and the Slovak cultural and political leaders saw to it that the Slovak language might conserve its central position and Slavic purity. Kollar himself argued, and some Slavists of that time accepted his idea, that the Slovak language **"stands grammatically and geographically in the center of all Slav dialects,"** and the Tatra mountains are the **"nest and cradle of all Slavs,"** which, of course, the modern science of history, archeology and ethnography challenges.

However, the central position of the Slovak language, geographically or linguistically, is accepted to a great extent even by modern philology. Slovak is more archaic than Czech, which in turn is more archaic than Polish. Since Russian is considered the least removed from the primitive Slavic prototype, both Slovak and Russian are the most archaic and nearest to the common primitive Slavic.

In fact, the Slovaks — either educated or common people — do not experience much difficulty in communicating in Slovak with Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Russians, or Slovenes and Croats, as has been proven on the American Con-

continent, since basically there are no great differences among the Slavic languages, and, in the case of the Slovak language, history and geography made it close not only to Pole and Czech, but also to Ukrainian and South Slavic Slovenian and Croat. Slovak intellectuals of the nineteenth century read not only Polish or Czech poets and writers in the original, but also in Russian and Ukrainian, Croat and Slovenian. Modern scientific and literary development drifts the twelve Slavic languages apart. Nevertheless, even if we cannot agree with the nineteenth century poet that, "with the Slovak language you may the earth's four corners travel," the fact remains that Slovaks are able to communicate in their own vernacular with the majority of Slavic peoples.

Linguistic analysis of the fundamental roots of the Czech and Slovak languages and a comparative study of their developments showed that the Slovak language never was a part of the Czech or so-called "Czechoslovak" language. If we accept the thesis, supported by Trubecko ⁽¹¹⁾, that in the ninth century the Old Slavonic still was the common tongue of the Slavs with a unified phonology, and that from the ninth century different dialects developed into distinct Slavic languages, there is no historical or philological reason why it should not be claimed that at the time of disintegration of the Old Slavonic and of the rise of new independent Slavic languages, Slovak was among them and that its development cannot be identified with that of the Czech language.

This thesis is strengthened also by the fact that the Slovak territory was annexed by Hungary after the collapse of Great Moravia, and, hence the only contact the Slovaks had with Czechs, was through Moravians who have continued to speak a Slovak dialect ⁽¹²⁾ in spite of the pressure of the Czechs from the West, and to the present time they have retained their own phonological structure.

The relation between the Czech and Slovak languages became a matter of controversy because of political aspirations of some Czech politicians and scholars and not because of philological reasons. As early as the 16th century,

Vavrinec Benedikti of Nedožery (1555-1615), a learned Slovak philologist and professor at the Prague University, exhorted his Slovak countrymen to cultivate their native tongue. He wrote his appeal in a grammar he composed for Czechs, which makes it clear that already for him there were two different languages ⁽¹³⁾.

From the sixteenth century on, there are numerous proofs that Slovak erudites, with a few exceptions, considered the Slovaks as one of the "tribes" of the Slavic nation, but speaking their own "dialect" different from the Czech, Polish or Russian, using the word dialect for our term language. Slovak was used not only in homiletic writings but also in scholarly works and poetry especially since the middle of the 17th century around the University of Trnava (founded 1635). At the end of the 18th century, Anton Bernolák only codified, in his linguistic works **Dissertatio Orthographia, Gramatica slavica**, and in his huge pentalingual **Dictionary**, a language in use for more than a century ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The well-known Slavist P. J. Šafárik, and initially also Ján Kollár, were aware of the fact that there had been a Slovak language and Slovak literature, different from the Czech or the other Slavic languages and literatures. Šafárik gave testimony to it in his **Geschichte der Slawischen Sprache und Literatur in allen Mundarten** (1826), and when some Czech leaders reproached him for his scholarly objectivity, Šafárik indignantly announced that he would go even farther in stressing the differences than he did in his book ⁽¹⁵⁾. Ján Kollár was originally also instrumental in preparing Štúr's reform and later changed his mind and became an advocate of a common literary language with the Czechs (which he called "old Slovak") because of reasons which Slovak literary historians avoid to discuss. The great poet of Pan-Slavism had also some human deficiencies like very high personal pride and a terrible temper, and took it as an insult that Štúr and his group dared to do something in Slovak cultural life without consulting him or without his patronage ⁽¹⁶⁾.

This "crimen lesae majestatis" moved Kollár to oppose Štúr's reform and the final acceptance of the Slovak

literary language also by Slovak Protestants. Šafárik did not change his scholarly views which he expressed in his *Geschichte*, but being employed in Prague and financially supported by Czech patriots, he tried to convince his Slovak countrymen that they should not move too far from the Czechs and suggested that the Czech should be adjusted to the Slovak linguistic phenomena and peculiarities. "The will of the Slovak groups to assert their own national individuality was, however, too strong," as admitted by Radl ⁽¹⁷⁾, and Štúr's reform was victorious over Kollár's protests and Šafárik's advices, because it was in line with the linguistic facts and centuries long Slovak national development.

The reasons for the sporadic use of the Czech language for administrative and partly also for literary purposes (mainly by the Slovak Protestants) have been recently reconsidered by several "Marxist" philologists and literary historians. There are at least three theories on the penetration of the Czech language into the Slovak territory. One refers to the continuation of relations between Slovaks and Moravians (who adopted the Czech language) from the time of Great Moravia, which relations survived the collapse of that state and developed between the Moravian cultural center Olomouc and Slovak religious centers.

More acceptable and also more elaborated is the theory ascribing the use of the Czech language to the fact that Czech was a sort of diplomatic language and that Czech clerks were used at certain periods (the XV-XVIth century) not only in Slovak territory but also in Hungary and Poland, in state and city administration ⁽¹⁸⁾. In Slovakia, the use of Czech, adapted to local dialects, survived because of the Reformation which penetrated among Slovaks from Bohemia with the Bible and religious books written in the old Czech, and because during the Counter-Reformation "many Protestant Czechs found shelter in Slovakia and even printed books in Czech for the purpose of smuggling them into Bohemia" ⁽¹⁹⁾.

Settled in Slovakia, the Czech refugees tried to keep all Slovak Protestants linked to Bohemia by language also in secular writings. Being a minority, the Protestants looked

to the Czechs first for help in religious and later also in literary and political matters ⁽²⁰⁾. Around 1840, it became clear, however, to the leaders of the Protestant minority in Slovakia that the Czech language was not intelligible to the common people, that their writings could not reach the Slovak population and for reasons which L. Štúr explained in his *Narečia slovenskuo* and other writings, they agreed with Catholics, on the reform, which based the literary language on the central Slovak dialects, and on the exclusive use of Slovak in Slovak literature.

Štúr's reform, by which the Slovak language was finally established as a literary medium of all Slovaks, "has been accepted by the Slovak intelligentsia within a very short space of time" as correctly stated by Auty. By this reform, which received its final linguistic form in the grammar of a Catholic priest, Martin Hattala, the peculiar situation of bi-lingualism in modern Slovak literature was changed. As it is accepted now also by foreign Slavists, the first literary language (or language of literature) used by Slovaks was the Old Church Slavonic ⁽²¹⁾, and the Slovaks rightly claim the writings of the Great Moravian period as a part of their cultural heritage. Then for centuries Slovaks used Latin also in secular writings; and from the 16th century Slovak Catholics began to replace Latin with the Slovak vernacular, which Slovak Protestants replaced with Czech, adapted to local use.

During all these centuries, the Slovak people spoke, of course, their own Slovak dialects which developed from the Old Slavonic after its disintegration into the modern Slovak language. History of the Slovak language and history of Slovak literature began at the same time, in the IXth century, but in literature Slovaks used various media (Church Slavonic, Latin, Czech and Slovak), while their native tongue was used in daily life until it was lifted to the position of a literary medium, which happened more or less at the same time at which other central European peoples began to use vernacular for literary purposes.

On the position of Slovak among Slavic languages foreign and Slovak philologists expressed various opinions.

V. Jagič in his book *Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchengeslawischen Sprache* wrote: "in Great Moravia people must have spoken in the ninth century a tongue which in its fundamentals was identical with the Slovak language of today." J. Dobrovský admitted that certain linguistic phenomena linked Slovak with South Slavic languages⁽²²⁾; and S. Czambel elaborated linguistically a theory to prove that the questions as to whether Slovak is closer to western Slavic or to the southern Slavic group of languages deserved to be reconsidered by philologists. Štúr viewed the position of the Slovak language as a central clearing house mainly because he was conscious of many of its similarities with the Slavic tongues of the East, West, North, and South, especially noting the South Slavic dialects with which Slovak came into intimate contact during long centuries⁽²³⁾.

III

VIEWS OF CANADIAN AND EUROPEAN SLAVISTS

Among European Slavists, including present-day Czech philologists, the erroneous views regarding the relation between Slovak and Czech, and the origin of the Slovak literary language, have been mostly corrected. Modern techniques in linguistics have thrown new light on the subject and have been instrumental in giving us modified views that are advanced far beyond the hasty unwarranted conclusions of the amateur philologists or linguists influenced by political aspirations.

For truth's sake we have to point out that also on the American continent we find Slavists who expressed correct views, and some of them did that before Slavic studies acquired the prominence which they enjoy now in the United States and in Canada. The well-known Canadian Slavist, Prof. W. Kirkconnell, wrote, for example, already in 1940, that the differences between Czech and Slovak are about as great as those between the similarly related languages, Dutch and German. "I have," says Kirkconnell, "on my shelves Miroslav Kálal's *Slovak-Czech Dictionary* (published in 1924), in which there are 35,000 Slovak words that were

apparently unintelligible to a Czech and hence required definition" (24).

Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki in his paper **Discrimination and Bias in Two UNESCO Publications** raised his voice against treating Slovak and Czech "as one unit." "From the linguistic point of view," says Prof. Smal-Stocki, "it is inadmissible to mix state units with existing languages and to treat 'as one unit' Czech and Slovak, because the linguistic fact is that in existence are **two** separate units, Czech and Slovak" (25).

Among European Slavists, the Polish scholar T. Lehr-Splawinski came with a new approach to the history of the Slovak literary language. He dates back the beginnings of the Slovak literary language to the IXth century which view has been held also by some other Slavists in recent years.

"The beginnings of the literary language in Slovakia are connected with the period of activities of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in the Moravian state," says Lehr-Splawinski. "As the whole of Slovakia was, without any doubt, a part of that state, and the important centres of its political and cultural life were situated on the Slovak territory, writings in the old Church-Slavonic language must have been undoubtedly developed among the Slovaks in the last quarter of the IXth century" (26).

R. Auty, from the University of Cambridge, in the paper which he presented to the VIIIth Congress of the International Federation of Modern Languages and Literatures at Liege, August 1960, corrected misconceptions on Bernolák and Štúr and their reforms. "Anton Bernolák **codified** in 1870" a language which was already in use, and unlike the American Slavists who minimized Bernolák's importance, Auty writes that "in the following fifty or sixty years a considerable number of literary and other works were published or written in this (Bernolák's) form of Slovak. The remarkable extent of the literature published in Bernolák's language has recently been revealed," says Auty, "by I. Kotvan, *Bibliografia bernolákovcov*, Martin, 1957" (27).

The Czech language was, according to Auty, "spora-

dically used in Slovakia (with certain local modification) for administrative and, still more occasionally, literary purposes." The reasons for this sporadic usage of Czech for administrative and "more occasionally" also for literary purposes, were explained by Auty only indirectly. He mentions that "since the Reformation the Czech had been the language of the Lutheran scriptures and Church Services in Slovakia," but he didn't say that as a result of this situation the biblical Czech was used by the Slovak Protestant minority also in secular writings in the same way as the Catholics used the Latin, and that Czech was used for administrative purposes also in Hungary and Poland, the reason being the Monarchy, in which all those countries were included.

Štúr, Protestant though he was, acted against what he regarded as an unnatural linguistic situation which had been brought about by the hazards of history. "His reaction was radical," says Auty, and gives a detailed picture of the changes which were brought about in the Slovak language by the agreement of the Catholics and Protestants in order to end bi-lingualism in Slovak literature.

Auty's views on the reform of the Slovak literary language which took place in the 1840's, are fairly in line with the historical truth and recent research. According to him "Catholic and Protestant Slovaks agreed to accept a new written form of their language for all purposes; this had been worked out by L. Štúr in discussion with other Slovak intellectual leaders in the period 1842-44 and was somewhat modified by M. M. Hodža and M. Hattala in subsequent years."

Štúr "on more than one occasion praised the work of Bernolák, and, above all, the poetry of Ján Hollý and fully accepted one element of Bernolák's linguistic reform — the orthographical system" — continues Auty. "The general pattern of the language, as fashioned by Štúr, was in accordance with the needs of Slovak Society and has proven itself — and Štúr's genius — by its survival" ⁽²⁸⁾.

The contributors to the **Encyclopedia Britannica** published some correct and some incorrect views, but they

grasped the essential points of difference between the Czech and Slovak.

"The Czech, as spoken and written today in Bohemia, diverges considerably from Slovak," says the Encyclopedia. "The disagreement is least marked in vocabulary but appears prominently in the phonetics; in particular the itacism so distinct a characteristic of Czech, is non-existent in Slovak, which has preserved the fuller diphthongs (ia, ie, iu, etc.) of the Slavonic languages; a further smaller point is the **dz**, from common Slav **dj**, is used (as in Polish) where Czech has **z**. In one point only is there a divergence which goes back beyond the time of the common ancestry of the two languages; Slovak has not developed the **ř**, which is characteristic of Czech and in that language occurs since the beginning of its literature. The Slovak palatalization of **n**, **d**, **t** and **l** after **e**, which does not occur in modern literary Czech, is a further point of disagreement, although this would not be obvious from Slovak spelling which does not find it necessary to distinguish by diacritics; consonants are always softened in this position."

The main contributor to the Encyclopedia, Prof. C. A. Macartney, refers also to a better selected bibliography than American Slavists and points out to the relation of Slovak with other Slavic languages as follows:

"The dialectical development," says Macartney, "shows some characteristics identical with those in South Slavonic and Russian. Not everywhere, for example, have C.S. **ů** and **ĩ** been confused, and instead of the **e**, which is the normal result in Slovak as in Czech, we find in Eastern dialects an **o** from the **u**, thus agreeing with Russian. An agreement with South Slavonic is the occurrence of **raz-** and **la-** and **lo-**. Because of these and other phonetic and morphological reasons the grammarian Czambel, a keen opponent of the identity of Czech and Slovak, has asserted that Slovak should rightly be associated with South Slavonic"⁽²⁹⁾.

On Slovak literature Macartney says: "Slovak literature, which previously had only a local importance, bid fair to take a worthy place alongside that of its better known partner. **The Survey of Modern Slovak Literature**, by Š.

Krčméry, in Vol. vii, No. 19, pp. 160-170, of the **Slavonic Review** (London), gives useful literature statistics and a good account of the literature of the present century." His Bibliography shows the following works: Dictionaries — J. Loos: **Wörterbuch der Slovakischen, Ungarischen and Magyarischen Sprache** (Budapest, 1871); M. Kálal, **Slovenský Slovník**, etc (1924), written for Czechs, is most valuable as dialect words are included. Grammar — S. Czambel: **Rukovät spisovnej reči slovenskej** (1919). This Handbook of Literary Slovak is the standard work. Czambel's other works, e.g., **Slováci a ich reč**, (Budapest 1903) and **Slovenská reč a jej miesto v rodine slovanských jazykov** (1906) are important for the dialects, but are biased; C. Dixon has written a **Slovak Grammar For English Speaking Students** (Pittsburgh, 1896).

IV

"MARXIST" CONCEPTIONS ON LITERARY SLOVAK AND THE ORIGINS OF THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE

From the published works of the "Marxist" philologists and literary historians it is obvious that the Czech theses on the Slovak language, on the history of the Slovak literary language, and on the function of some foreign languages (Czech, "Czechoslovak") in Slovak literature, which theses were intended to support the political theory of a single "Czechoslovak" nation, have been definitely buried⁽³⁰⁾. In this respect, some contemporary works of Czech philologists helped to support the scholarly conclusions which have long been defended by the Slovak philologists. Particularly noteworthy of the Czech school is the work of the University Professor A. Dostál, and of the Slovak school, Professor Eugene Paulíny's **Dejiny spisovnej slovenčiny** (History of Literary Slovak, Bratislava, 1948), and Andrew Mráz's **Dejiny slovenskej literatúry** (History of Slovak Literature, Bratislava, 1948), as well as the papers read at the Moscow Fourth International Congress of Slavists in 1958.

In this respect, the paper of Professor Paulíny on bilingualism in the history of the Slovak literary language de-

serves particular attention. Paulíny tries to explain the function of the Czech language in Slovakia in the XVth and following centuries on the basis of social and economic phenomena and changes. He has arrived, nevertheless, at the same conclusions as the philologists who did not apply "Marxist criteria" in philology, i.e., that the Czech language was a foreign language in Slovakia and could not withstand competition of the Slovak vernacular when the Slovak ethnum evolved in its national consciousness. Literary Slovak won out despite the fact that the Protestant minority, predominantly of Czech origin, tried to maintain it even in the XIXth century when the Slovak literary language was established by the Catholic majority (80%) over a century ago. The relation between the Czech and Slovak is, therefore, according to Paulíny, that of bilingualism.

In his contribution to a volume "**O vzájomných vzťahoch Čechov a Slovákov**," published in 1956 by the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Paulíny states: "Bernolák codified a language which can be traced in the writings of the middle-class, the lower nobility and educated Slovaks back to the 15th century, and this in both Catholic and Protestant writings."

As for the connection of Bernolák's school with Štúr's group, Paulíny agrees with the other Marxist literary historians and philologists.

Štúr's reform, which is erroneously presented by some American Slavists as the beginning of the Slovak literary language (in this respect even Jakobson is mistaken), in Paulíny's view, is but a "younger branch of Bernolák's school."

In the opinion of Professor A. Mráz, who still remains the main authority in Marxist literary history in Slovakia, Anton Bernolák **reformed and codified** the Slovak literary language and its orthography.

Mráz regards the activity which originated around the Catholic University of Trnava (1635) as a starting point for introducing Slovak vernacular as a literary medium and stresses that the first manifestation of the new era in Slovak national life was the publication of the **Cantus Catholici** by Benedict Szölőssi in 1655.

The book **Cantus Catholici**," says Mráz, "laid the foundation on which the language used by Slovak Catholic writers, was formed into an independent Slovak literary language. Crystallization of the language, which Slovak Catholic writers used during the period of the University of Trnava (1635-1777), progressed so far in accordance with the spoken language in Western Slovakia that, when Bernolák and his followers came, at the end of the 18th century, with the idea of an independent literary language, they merely codified, in many respects, a language used and domesticated among the Catholic Slovak writers of the preceding period ⁽³¹⁾.

In the introduction to his **Dejiny spisovnej slovenčiny**, Paulíny understands the history of the language as the history of the origin, disappearance and changes of its individual styles. However, in the book itself, he divided the history of the Slovak literary language according to the languages which were used by the Slovaks as literary languages in addition to the spoken vernacular from the time of Greater Moravia. He writes:

"Although, in this case, the period of the actual Slovak literary language can begin only with Bernolák, or with the period shortly before Bernolák, nevertheless it is not possible to begin the history of the literary language of the Slovaks either with Bernolák or Štúr, but it is necessary to go deep into the past, all the way to the very beginnings of the historical period of our nation in the Great Moravian epoch, nay, in certain matters, it is necessary to go even further, into the prehistoric period, when our ancestors were not yet baptized and did not participate in the European culture which was introduced to us by Christianity"⁽³²⁾.

Professor A. Dostál, in his work "**Nastín dejín českého a slovenského jazyka**," published in Prague in 1954, developed the following thesis on the Slovak literary language:

"The Slovak language, whose development goes back to ancient times, was established as a literary language in connection with the formation of the Slovaks into a nation...the establishment of the literary Slovak language can in no way be viewed as a separation from the literary Czech language, but only as a long, slow development towards a literary language..." ⁽³³⁾.

Prof. Dostál goes even farther and says that the attempts to impose the Czech language upon Slovaks as a

literary medium must be considered "as a negation of hundreds of years long development which in the 1840's was already a historical fact in Slovakia..."

A century-long debate, as to whether Slovak is a dialect of the older Czech language or a distinct Slavonic tongue, has thus been "officially" closed by the recognition on both Czech and Slovak sides that, from its earliest beginnings, the Slovak language has always manifested a distinct identity as a Slavonic tongue of the inhabitants of Slovakia. By a careful analysis of the fundamental roots of both languages, Slovak and Czech, as well as through a comparative study of their later developments, even the "Marxist" scholars, trained in philology have properly classified the Slovak language as one of the distinct Slavonic languages which developed after the disappearance of the Old Slavonic language.

As a result of this development the relation between the two literary languages of today's Czecho-Slovakia is now officially accepted as a relation between two Slavic but distinct languages. Czech poetry and prose are translated into Slovak and vice versa, as the Polish and Russian have always been. Life and historical facts prevailed over artificial tendencies and theories a long time ago and finally they have prevailed even over the reluctance of some politicians and philologists to recognize their victory.

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2. Roman Jakobson: **Slavic Languages**, Columbia University, Department of Slavic Studies, 1949; p. 10.
3. See reference to the work of Prof. A. Dostál: **Nástin dejín českého a slovenského jazyka**, Praha, 1954.
4. Eugen Pauliny: **Dejiny spisovnej slovenčiny**, Bratislava, 1948; p. 72; and Robert Auty: **Dialect, Koiné and Tradition in the Formation of Literary Slovak**, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 39, No. 93, London, 1961.
5. *Ibidem*: p. 342.
6. L. I. Strakhovský: **Handbook of Slavic Studies**; pp. 51-52.
7. *Ibidem*: p. 494.
8. S. H. Thomson: **Czechoslovakia in European History**; pp. 258, 263.
9. pp. 36-39.
10. V. Bušek-N. Spulber: **Czechoslovakia Under Communism**; pp. 173-197.

11. **Grundzüge der Phonologie**, Prague, 1939.
12. J. Dobrovský and P. J. Šafárik drew the dialectical line separating Slovak and Czech dialects in the middle of Moravia. Cf. J. Škultéty: **Sketches From Slovak History**, and his book **Stodvsaťpäť rokov zo slovenského života**.
13. E. Paulíny: **Dejiny spisovnej slovenčiny**, p. 41. Benedicti wrote: "Neque tamen ego hic eos ad Bohemicam linguam co-go, sed ad exercitationem et culturam ipsorum idiomatis invito: presertim cum non tantum in civitatibus et oppidis, sed etim in pagis scholis abundant." (*Grammaticae Bohemicae libri duo*, 1603).
14. E. Paulíny, *Op. cit.*, p. 57 and 113; and A. Mráz: **Dejiny slovenskej literatúry**, p. 108. First translation of the Bible dates from 1763, and also the first dictionary was compiled at that time.
15. J. Škultéty, *Op. cit.*; and Jaroslav Vlček: **Medzi Váhom a Vltavou**, pp. 228-234.
16. J. Škultéty, *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-30.
17. *Op. cit.*, pp. 494-495.
18. E. Paulíny, *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-36.
19. O. Radl in *Handbook of Slavic Studies*, p. 491.
20. E. Paulíny, *Op. cit.*, pp. 36-37 and 53. Paulíny is of the opinion that the occupation of Hungary by the Turks (1526) helped the penetration of the Czech language since there was a sort of common border between Slovakia and Moravia in the Habsburg Monarchy.
21. T. Lehr-Splawinski: **Przegląd i charakterystyka języków słowiańskich**, p. 71.
22. J. Dobrovský in 1875 wrote that Slovak is close to the Croat and Slovene languages in several respects. Zd. Stieber considers certain characteristics of the Slovak language as southern Slavic elements (*juhoslavizmy*). Cf. Ján Stanislav: **Dejiny slovenského jazyka**, p. 387.
23. J. M. Kirschbaum: **Ľudovít Štúr and His Place in the Slavic World**, pp. 13-17; and S. Czambel: **Slovenská reč a jej miesto v rodine slovanských jazykov**, Turč. Sv. Martin, 1906.
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31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 46-108.
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Rev. Milan Ďurica, SDB, participated in the sessions of the preparatory commission for discipline of the clergy and faithful for the II. Vatican Ecclesiastical Assembly. Father Ďurica, a native of Slovakia, acts in an advisory capacity. The meeting was early in February.

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Dr. John Novotný, a native of Slovakia now residing in London, successfully passed the medical examinations to become a Member of the Royal College of Physicians.

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According to Radio Bratislava (February 3, 1962), the exposition of Czecho-Slovak books in Rome was a great success. Our friends in Rome, however, inform us that it was far from being successful. And Slovak books were conspicuous by their absence, only about ten being displayed.

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Rev. John E. Šenglár, pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Phoenixville, Pa., opened the session of the U. S. Senate on March 14, 1962 — the 23rd anniversary of the proclamation of Slovak Independence — with a special prayer. He was accompanied to Washington by P. A. Hrobak, president of the Slovak League of America,

who made the arrangements. The prayer was published in the Congressional Record of March 14.

✱ ✱ ✱

Bishop Andrew G. Grutka of the diocese of Gary, Indiana, accompanied by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. K. Mlynarovič, president of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America, traveled to Rome early in April (6-15) to review the plans for the Slovak Institute which will be built there. Plans were also made for the celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the advent of the saintly brothers Cyril and Methodius to the ancient homeland of the Slovaks, Slovakia, in 1963, by Slovaks in the free world. Bishop Grutka had an audience with Pope John XXIII on April 14. The Slovak Institute will cost about a half million dollars, most of which is expected to be donated by the Slovaks in America. Almost half the amount is already pledged.

✱ ✱ ✱

The Holy See, early in April, 1962, appointed the Rev. Rudolph Kobela, C.M., missionary for the Slovaks in England, particularly for the several hundred who reside in London and vicinity. Father Kobela had been attending to the spiritual needs of the Slovaks in London for several years prior to that time.

DEFENSE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH

By Ferdinand Ďurčanský

It is a historical fact that the Soviet Imperium would have collapsed in the course of the second world war, without the military and economic support of America. At the end of the war the USA was still in a position — due to this active support — to emphasize America's political designs and put them into effect. Proof thereto lies in Stalin's having to withdraw his troops from Iran in 1946 at America's behest, although such a move by no means tallied with Communist strategy.

U. S. political, economic and, above all, military superiority was so impressive and was so highly regarded by Soviet leaders that even at the 1955 Geneva Conference they dared not show their real hand on the question of Germany's partition. To a certain extent this power relationship seems to have changed in favor of the Soviet Imperium. Russia, formerly one of the seven Great Powers, has meanwhile become one of the two World Powers, and now controls the eastern half of Europe, plus the most important areas of the Euro-Asiatic sphere.

At the moment the great European Powers alone would hardly be in a position effectively to resist the Kremlin's political pressure. Even America, despite its costly system of defense, feels itself threatened. This explains why Khrushchev today feels he can simply refuse to discuss German reunification if it does not take place the way he thinks it should.

The power complex of the Soviet Union has become so mighty that Khrushchev periodically threatens, hoping he will intimidate the allies of the United States and thereby weaken Western unity. This potential strength harbors the temptation to superimpose, even on the peoples of the still free world, the political will of the Kremlin.

In any case we must reckon with the fact, that the men in the saddle in Moscow have made preparations for achieving world domination as called for by the Commu-

nist ideology. The Russians have reached this position in less than twenty years, a status that is not only the expression of their own endeavors of military or economic strength, but for the most part the outcome of faulty Western policy. A continuation of such policy would stabilize the failures of the West and bring about additional failures, a fact that should serve as a cogent warning to all Europe.

Just how did this political and ideological Soviet Russian gain come about? Is it possible that Communist ideology and, above all, its practical application, is much more progressive than our economic and social order? Is it perhaps more in keeping with over-all human developments than ours, as the Kremlin rulers maintain? Is State capitalism more enriching and better for the people in the East than the freedom-loving order of the Western world?

Facts refute the Communist theses. The basis of our social order is freedom with its ensuing initiative of the individual in all realms of human existence. The West is certainly not poor in ideas. We have both ideas and principles to offer Communism, which are effective not only in the West but even in the East. The suppressed peoples affirm these values. But our methods are wrong. Western policy refuses to look upon the ideological and political offensive of world Communism as something whole and indivisible, and preoccupies itself with only partial problems and partial aspects.

Tension Is Mainly Political

Too little attention is given to the fact that almost all the moral and ethical values that form the vital basis of the civilized nations of Europe are rejected by the Soviets. The leaders of the Soviet Union even regard, among other factors, the principles of international law as non-binding for themselves. Every treaty concluded with the Kremlin is thus made suspect by a "Clausula rebus sic stantibus." An international treaty is only considered valid as long as it does not contra-

dict the interests of the class struggle. Nor is it an exaggeration to state that the agreements made with the Kremlin are scarcely worth more than the paper they are printed on.

Every treaty signed with the Soviets constitutes a disadvantage for the free world, which it excludes from certain actions and possibilities and does not obligate the Russians since they feel themselves dispensed from all erstwhile, generally valid, moral-legal maxims. Such principles, emanating from Western culture, contradict Marxist-Leninist teachings. The Soviets behave as if they had never assumed an obligation, a circumstance proven by their disregard for the treaties of Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, and London. Relations between the free world and the east cannot, therefore, be regarded as a normal nationally-binding relationship based on the principles of international law, because the main concern is a question of power.

The behavior of the West toward the East Block has, nevertheless, been based at all times on the principles and forms of classical foreign policy and diplomacy. In all differences of opinion and artificially trumped up crises, measures and methods are applied that scarcely differ from those employed during the periods of the Vienna Congress. The results of this conservative force behind Communist hunger for power are judged solely from the aspect of momentary security and military potential. To be sure, a number of Western political leaders have realized that the conflict is an ideological one, but they believe the controversy can be resolved by competing in the field of propaganda. Even these far-sighted statesmen, politicians, and publicists fail to see that the tension between East and West represents a political struggle. Certainly it has an ideological character with which it is inextricably bound.

The Communists on the other hand leave no doubt that they are concerned with a whole. When they speak of a socialist society valid for the world of today they mean not only production patterns, State order and insti-

tutions, but the intention of annihilating all values that we possess and that form the basis of our Christian-Western culture, and of replacing them by their ideas and patterns.

We are actually witnesses of a great historical attempt to replace freedom throughout the world with slavery. Millions of independent people are to be reduced to dependence and coercion. In this very century a decision will be made as to whether Russia is able to realize its plan — World Communism — and destroy the Christian-Western culture, for, without crushing it, Bolshevism cannot get a foothold in these countries. It is thus a question, whether we value our culture highly enough ourselves and are resolved to fight for its preservation, or whether we want to yield to despotism step by step to make room for a false culture that levels off and nullifies the personality.

Soviet Russia has forced this alternative upon us and it would be sheer suicide to evade the struggle. The ensuing political consequences would be of immeasurable importance and decisive for our future destiny. If it were only a question of distribution of power between Moscow and Washington, each of us — each nation, each people, each stratum of society — would have the right and the possibility to decide freely and, after consideration of individual interests, either to choose the friendship and alliance of the one or the other, or to remain neutral.

Basic Values Are At Stake

In our century, however, the matter is quite different. The traditional political struggle, which dealt with the acquisition of foreign territories, colonies and trade and customs was, with linguistically dependent national cultural propaganda, and, with competition toward the opening up of world markets, is a thing of the past. It means that if people today demand the reunification of Germany, the freedom of the Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, of the Baltic or other oppressed peoples, this is not done in the interest of the United States of America.

and does not foresee therein the recognition of any claim to U. S. leadership and to strengthening U. S. policy, but that the people concerned become a simple co-combatant in a struggle for the preservation of our values, which are to remain the basis of human coexistence even in the future. When we fight against Communism and, hence, against the Soviet Union, we do not do so in the interest of so-called capitalists, but in the interest of our indivisible social order and in the struggle against the enslavement of our progeny.

The fact has been cited in the September 1960 issue of **Der Europäische Osten** that World War III has already begun. For the time being it will be carried out on the not insignificant level of propaganda. To be sure the means employed, such as radio, television, press cinema, and literature, are less frightening than those of military, yet they are powerful and effective. Since the Soviets are resolved to impose their system on the entire world, it would be dangerous shortsightedness to believe that in the current tussle between the West and the East — in which all peoples are involved willy-nilly — the West can succeed by purely defensive measures only. So far, however, the political leadership of the West has limited itself to defensive tactics.

The outcome of this behavior which has been alarming for many millions, was the de facto recognition of the Iron Curtain, an abandonment of the moral and cultural mission and obligation to defend the freedom of all people and, if need be, to fight for it. By giving up the right of political control psychological prerequisites were established for the ideological and political integration of East and Southeast Europe and the Soviets were given the chance to integrate more than one hundred millions of human beings into their sphere of power.

Western Doors Always Open

Much worse, however, is the fact that this Bolshevi-zation of the Eastern half of Europe, effectuated in four to five years, has given the Kremlin the opportunity of

unfolding a general political and ideological offensive against the free world without the West having a chance to look into the darkness behind the wings of the Communist stage. At the same time the doors of the West remained open to agents and spies from all over the Communist world, thus enabling the Kremlin to cause unrest on a global scale under the motto of the class struggle and to allow a fabulous measure of propaganda to take effect that has brought whole peoples to ruin.

The initiation of the so-called containment policy meant the indirect and de facto recognition of the status quo resulting from Communist violence. Western leadership at the time believed that by sacrificing the European East and South it was possible to buy genuine peaceful cooperation with Russia and that it would put a stop to further spread of Communist power. Was it not sheer delusion to believe in a change in the European status quo? A change did take place, year after year, but always in favor of the Soviet Union.

It is utopia to think that coexistence with the Communist world can go on permanently and that the Russians would be ready without any compelling reason to change the current status quo by the reunification of Germany or by free elections within the Satellite countries. This is dangerous wishful thinking which contradicts the facts as we see them happening in Asia and Africa. A Western policy that is prepared to recognize the status quo is not only a betrayal of hundreds of millions of people hungering for freedom, but a threat to the entire world.

The final phase of colonialism that we are going through today, gave the Russians a golden opportunity for action. They demanded freedom and independence for nations that already enjoyed them without benefit of Soviet propaganda. Although Russia is subjugation incarnate, it claims the role of freedom fighter and liberator. This boastful sham of Soviet policy and the political naiveté and inexperience of the non-white peoples paved the way for it.

If an opportunistically-minded person observes the fanaticism with which the Soviet Russians work toward greater domination, it is no wonder if he begins to waver. If today the colored man — treated roughly in past centuries by many a European — falls prey to Communism, his attitude for the most part is the result of the West's own attitude of defense.

The peoples of the East, then, often gain the impression that the political leaders of the West repeatedly fail, because the will and resolve to effectively combat the Communist world is simply lacking. Even on the West the opinion is winning ground that our culture and the nations and peoples who sustain this culture are doomed to extinction. Why, then, should a colored man choose the culture that limits itself to defense and, hence, can have no prospects for the future? Although this opinion stems from an optical illusion it can, nevertheless, have fateful consequences.

Active Western Stand Is Imperative

The Russians are everywhere engaged in a ruthless class struggle. Thus far the West has only been able to prevent Soviet world domination by non-military power, by recourse to costly armaments and military preparedness. As events in Asia and Africa prove, military preparedness and even superiority alone will not prevent Russia from spreading its influence and political control to other territories. The fact that the West has no voice and, hence, no control in the Soviet-dominated areas, while Soviet Russia, on the other hand, together with the West, decides all important affairs of the West, has unduly strengthened Communist self-confidence and the USSR's aggressive attitude. The Communists are more than ever convinced of the progressive nature of their ideology and of the correctness of their theses. It has merely heightened their fanaticism. This development is very disquieting because it intensifies instead of diminishing the danger of war. We should apply the principle of mutuality and draw the necessary conclusions from the fact that the Soviet

Russians disregard the principles of international law and automatically exclude themselves from the community of nations.

The West dare not limit itself to being ready to fight for the preservation of freedom in the still free world — as, for example, in Berlin or South Korea. Whenever Khrushchev says that he will never cease to encourage Communist victory throughout the entire world, the Western answer should ring out bold and clear, that we shall never cease to fight for the liberation of the oppressed peoples behind the Iron Curtain and shall do everything we can to make freedom and Christian-Western culture apply on a world-wide basis. This should not be confused with a “crusade” against the Soviet Union or the enkindling of a third world war. On the contrary, conditions must be created that will prevent war. Psychological means must be applied to drive home to the Kremlin oppressors that their ideological fanaticism cannot intimidate the whole world and perpetuate a condition of slavery *ad infinitum*.

The free world is still in a position to take political, economic, and diplomatic measures which can strengthen the actual political desires of millions of enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain and make it possible some day to see them realized. It is not enough, however, to support the right of self-determination of peoples merely for tactical reasons. It is of no use as long as the men in the Kremlin notice that behind such speeches, declarations, and assertions there is no serious resolve to take political measures as well.

Balance Can Be Restored

The United States of America has created various anti-Communist institutions. They have been seriously weakened, however, by political compromise so that they could not live up to expectations. It is impossible to hope to carry out the struggle for freedom and at the same time divide the oppressed peoples into two categories. If one promises the Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Russians,

and Baltic Peoples freedom, independence, and the right of self-determination, one cannot withhold it from the Slovaks, Croats, Ukrainians, Georgians, and others.

The West sporadically fostered the hope that the Russians, in the course of time, would make certain political concessions by easing terror and by liberalization. The fifteen years that lie immediately behind us prove that such expectations are illusory. Instead of allowing the dominated countries more freedom and self-determination, Russia has ruthlessly incorporated these peoples into its sphere of power.

When one enters the large libraries of the West and leafs through the tables of contents, one finds numerous publications on American, German, English, French, Japanese, and even Soviet imperialism. But one seldom finds, and then but recently, references to a Russian imperialism although the Russians for centuries have ruled more non-Russians than Russians. Is this sheer coincidence?

Moscow tries to exploit the dissatisfaction of five or ten per cent of the population of the West for purposes of propaganda. The West could use the dissatisfaction of at least 80 per cent of the people behind the Iron Curtain as a political weapon. This would be in the interest of freedom and Western culture. Yet it has not been done. Such a program should be adopted.

If the Western Powers would decide to demand freedom for the peoples under Moscow's oppression and if appropriate political measures would be taken, they could again take the initiative in world politics and force the Kremlin to go on the defensive. Only in this way will it be possible to guarantee the existence and the continued development of our culture and social order. Only in this way can we restore the balance and create the conditions for a lasting peace.

HROBAK'S ENGLISH-SLOVAK DICTIONARY —

there is none better on the market today — can be yours for only \$4.00.

CZECH GROUPS IN EXILE

Fritz Peter Habel

The history of Czecho-Slovak political groups in exile has unfortunately not yet been written. It would offer the world at large a fascinating story with the suspense and thrill of a good novel. There are actually three periods of exile: the first one from 1914 to 1918; the second and third periods between 1938 and 1945, and from 1945 to 1948. These latter periods are harder to delineate since they partially overlap.

Two aspects, often mutually independent, monopolize the foreground: the actors in the drama, and the results attained. Who, in 1914, would have dreamed that four years later a Czecho-Slovak Republic would be among the victorious powers of the first world war? The titanic external political success was attributable to the exploitation by a few men of a number of favorable circumstances. At their head stood Thomas G. Masaryk, professor of philosophy, who — rightly or wrongly — is still today regarded as a wise statesman, benevolent philosopher and outstanding humanist. In the background, only known to the initiated, was a versatile actor on the political stage, playing a vital role. His name was Dr. Edward Beneš.

Twenty years later, due to circumstances that cannot be treated within the limited scope of this paper, the Czecho-Slovak Republic collapsed. This collapse appeared to be final, for the world at that time looked most critically upon the constructional defects of that State. Many reports have been preserved from which it is clearly evident that in 1938 Czecho-Slovakia was regarded as impossible of reconstruction in its pre-Munich status, even if Germany should lose the war.

The second period of Czecho-Slovak exile began at this moral zero. At its head stood Dr. Beneš, regarded by many as politically bankrupt but, at the same time, regarded by an ever-growing number of followers as a tragic and the first victim of Adolf Hitler. In any event Dr.

Beneš succeeded, by taking advantage of favorable circumstances, not only in restoring Czecho-Slovakia, but also in making it an essentially Slavic State by the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and Hungarians (Magyars). The accoucheur of this "new" restored State was primarily Josef Stalin, who let his bailiff Klement Gottwald, present the bill in February 1948. Once again a Czecho-Slovak group in exile seemingly succeeded in performing the impossible; once again the existence of a single widely recognized person was a prerequisite for this development.

The third order of exile at no time could boast of a person of such caliber, and for this reason it could book no success at all. In fact, it remained to a large extent unknown. To be sure all the Czech, Slovak, and "Czecho-slovak" politicians desire a Bohemian-Moravian-Slovakian region liberated from Communism, and to this end various constitutional solutions have been proposed. At the same time any uniformity of their political thinking is virtually impossible due to the Sudeten German question. More and more Czechs and Slovaks have with the passage of time come to the conclusion that this problem was not "settled" by the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, but that it is still awaiting a real solution. Nevertheless, again and again voices may be heard to the contrary.

A so-called "Council of Free Czechoslovakia," with headquarters in the USA, which has been dissolved several times only to be refounded again, advocates as part of its official policy not only the approval of the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and Hungarians (Magyars), but it has demanded of the Federal Republic of Germany that the act of expulsion be recognized as "a definitively settled matter." That was the situation as expressed in a memorandum issued by the Council in the summer of 1960.

It is not within the scope and purpose of this paper to refer to the numerous half truths and untruths the memorandum contains. It is likewise not the purpose to call attention to the dangerous relationship between many of its theses and Communist slogans. Since it is an important condition of every fruitful controversy clearly to be aware

of the viewpoint of the philosophical and political opponent, a question from the above-mentioned memorandum seems appropriate. After historic declarations and arguments in favor of the expulsion which is always referred to as the "transfer" it says:

"...The transfer was not considered to be an act of retaliation but a contribution to the security of Czecho-Slovakia from the German **Drang nach Osten** and a contribution to the protection of European peace... In their fight for return, the Sudeten Germans plead for recognition as a unique ethnic group. They forward this claim, although in 1938 they coined the slogan '**Heim ins Reich**' inasmuch as they declared themselves to be an ethnic segment of the larger German nation. No doubt considerable influence was lent to this Sudeten German claim by the thought that the peace conference acceded the right of self-determination solely to ethnic entities and not to fragments of a people living on the territory of foreign States. By the demand for recognition as a special ethnic group, they hope to acquire the right of self-determination. This demand differs in no way from those which the Sudeten Germans pleaded for prior to the war. At that time when the advice and complete support of Hitler was granted them, the Sudeten Germans transferred the demand from that of autonomy and confederative reconstruction of Czecho-Slovakia to one of separation of the border regions from Czecho-Slovakia and annexation to the German Reich. Today they understand by self-determination expressly the right to and power of disposition over that portion of the Czechoslovak territory in which they, intermingled with the Czech population, were settled up to the time of their deportation. After the experiences of 1938 that necessarily means, in the eyes of every "Czecho-slovak," renewed destruction of Czecho-Slovakia and the annihilation of the Republic..."

Thereupon follows a prediction for the future: "...In case it should come to annexing the Czecho-Slovak border territory to Germany, Czecho-Slovakia would be economically and commercially just as mutilated as was the case

after Munich. The country's capacity to exist would be retarded and instead of being a contribution to free Europe it would be ballast, should it be able to maintain itself as a State at all. Should the Sudeten Germans be allowed to return and to constitute themselves in a federative union in Czecho-Slovakia, new nationality struggles, inseparable from heavy social and especially international repercussions, would flare up anew. The Sudeten Germans would once again seek the aid of Germany against the Czechs and the Slovaks, thus disturbing Czecho-Slovak relations and becoming within Germany itself the support and lever of undemocratic, pan-Germanically oriented elements. The troubled relations would mean a new threat to Czecho-Slovak independence. The satisfying of Sudeten German demands in this or that form would therefore be possible, in the final analysis, only at the price of Czecho-Slovakia's annihilation. One must also consider that in light of their historical development and their experiences, State independence is an indispensable prerequisite for the Czecho-Slovaks' national existence and growth.

"For this very basic reason it is absolutely necessary that the West make no further change in its approval of the transfer and that it consider the Sudeten question settled. But for tactical reasons, too, the free world should resist the demands of the Sudeten Germans. Any manner of concessions would be interpreted by the Communist government as a sacrifice of Czecho-Slovak national interests in favor of German interests and would be regarded as a new threat to the national existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples and would surely have a catastrophic effect on the spirit of resistance to and fight against Communism in Czecho-Slovakia. It would compel the masses of Czechs and Slovaks to identify themselves with the Communist government against which they now stand resolutely opposed.

"It is of no less importance to free Czecho-Slovaks than it is to the free world that Germany become a permanent member of the community of free peoples. This affiliation can only become effective and reliable if Ger-

many recognizes the rights of other peoples, especially of the peoples of Central Europe, to national independence and sovereignty, and does not allow different groups — be they from the ranks of the original population or from the ranks of the expelled minorities — to impose a policy on Germany which would, in its consequences, lead to a negation of these rights. For then Germany would cut itself off from the community of free peoples and instead of being a co-determinant, would be a destroyer of the Europe of the future. Since the return of the expellees would have just such consequences, this means, in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, that Germany should recognize the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans as a definitive settlement.

“Such recognition will also serve as the firmest foundation for truly friendly relations between free Germany and free Czechoslovakia. Czecho-Slovakia desires nothing more than to be an island of creative peace which introduces no tensions into the international order and gives no occasion for quarrels but contributes to a non-violent organization of the world.”

There are also other opinions with regard to German-Czech relations. They can, for obvious reasons, be worded much more concisely. Here is the answer of the “Czech Christian Democratic Movement in Exile” to the above memorandum:

“It is our opinion that it should be the highest political principle of the various refugee groups that they resolve their own problems in a spirit of Christian understanding. The step taken by the ‘Council of Free Czecho-slovakia’ seems to us to be determined by the opposite of that principle. To defend the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans from the western provinces of Czecho-Slovakia — a measure which a self-appointed government of that country executed in the year of 1945 — appears to us to spell approval of the reprehensible deeds of the Bolsheviks; it proves a lack of desire to subordinate one’s own petty feelings to the concept of a united and peaceful Europe... No European nation — above all no small na-

tion like ours — can find lasting peace in a divided Europe. Federalization is the only way to peace in Europe. The Czechs could scarcely participate in such a federation if they refused their German-speaking fellow-countrymen the right to their homeland, thus bringing about lasting tension between themselves and their big neighbor...”

In conclusion the Czech Christian Democrats renewed their approval of the Wiesbaden Agreement of August 1950. Deriving from the spirit of this fairly well-known agreement, there has appeared in recent years a personality that may prove the dominant figure in the third period of Czechs and Slovaks in exile. On May 29, 1955, Army General Lev Prchala stated before the participants in the mighty demonstration of Sudeten Germans at the 6th Sudeten Day in Nuremberg: “As a human being and as a European I condemn the crime that was committed against the Sudeten Germans in 1945. As a Czech and a Christian I feel myself obligated to ask the Sudeten German men and women for pardon.”

It is to be hoped that this seed will ripen. It is a good, fresh seed. Although an old man sowed it, it needs the cultivation of all true humanists who, from the mistakes of yesterday, via the adversities of today, believe in the dawning of a new tomorrow.

Fraňo Štefunka, Slovak academic sculptor, is working on a memorial to Ján Kollár who was among the initiators of the cultural Pan-Slavistic movement in Slovakia. The Kollár creation is to be unveiled in Mošovce, Slovakia, on July 29, 1963, the 170th anniversary of Kollár's birth. He is known particularly for his lyric-epic poem “*Slávy dcéra*” and his collection (4 volumes) of Slovak folk-songs (*Národné Zpievanky*). Kollár was born in Mošovce, Slovakia, on July 29, 1793.

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The Slovak League of America held its 38th Congress in Detroit, Mich., May 27-29, 1962. Dr. Peter

P. Hletko, M.D., honorary president and former president of the League, was elected president. Philip A. Hrobak, president of the League since May, 1950, who favored the election of Dr. Hletko, now serves on the Executive Committee together with Monsignor Francis J. Dubosh, P.A., Lakewood, Ohio, honorary president and former president of the League; Paul Jamriška, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John A. Sabol, president of the First Catholic Slovak Union, Phoenixville, Pa., and Joseph G. Pruša, secretary of the Slovak Catholic Sokol. The next Congress will be in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1964.

EXIT CZECHO-SLOVAKIA'S "BERIA"

By Wolfgang E. Oberleitner

Czecho-Slovakia has so far appeared to be the most stable of the "People's Democracies," more so than the Soviet Union, where Khrushchev's battles with his adversaries have been going on for years and are still not settled. In Czecho-Slovakia, however, the ruling clique has so far managed to face the public as a monolithic block, welded together by the awareness of the liability of dictatorial regimes, even if they do come off with 98 per cent of the votes at every election.

Ever since the major crisis of 1952 that ended in the denunciation of Deputy Minister President Slánsky and his cosmopolitan entourage, there have been no further symptoms of internal tension in the ČSR. That explains Moscow's ability to rely at all times on its Czech ally and to point him out to other satellites as an example of what communist regime consolidation is like.

This optimistic picture of the situation in Czecho-Slovakia is actually deceptive. The case of erstwhile Deputy Minister President Barák, dubbed by State President and First Party Secretary Antonín Novotný as a "political adventurer and criminal" points to chinks that cannot easily be puttied up. Novotný's accusations are all the more surprising since Barák is a man who for eight years was in control of the entire State and Party apparatus and knew, as hardly anyone else, just what was going on and would perhaps have been in a position to take over the reins of power himself. His meteoric rise from a simple worker to one of the big ten in the Czech Politburo may have caused him to believe that the moment had come to reach for the top party position — first secretary — which Novotný, a man ten years his senior (60), was naturally unwilling to yield.

Barák was clever enough to stay in the background and seldom made a speech lest one day, when the wind blew the other way, it be held against him. To be sure, he

could point to achievements, but these proved to be more of a burden to the department of justice than to himself. Right after he took over the Ministry of the Interior in September 1953, Barák began to weed out communist opposition. First on the agenda was the trial of Bishop Trochta, whom he had sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. He then turned the guns on the Catholic People's Party — it had already been put out of commission — and the leaders were given heavy terms in the penitentiary. That same year the Social Democrats were brought before the tribunal; 24 of their functionaries were given long prison terms. The full storm of hatred of the police minister, whose methods strongly resembled those of his Soviet colleague Beria, was directed against the Slovak "separatists," four of whom he sentenced to death as late as 1958 and many others got long prison terms.

It was not the terrorist methods, however, employed by Barák's henchmen, that proved fateful, but the calumniations of the People's Councils subordinate to him. Novotný, who of course, knew about all this, now brought charges against his one-time colleague for "broadly plotted violations of the law." The president of the State — who the year before had seen how Barák was trying to wangle himself into a position from which he could outmaneuver Novotný, a man who spoke much of de-Stalinization but did nothing about it — repeated the same game that had been used against Slánsky in 1951, namely, removal from office while giving the incumbent the decorative post of Deputy Minister President, only to arrest him a few months later and have him executed. In June, 1961, Barák was forced to give up the Ministry of the Interior in exchange for a government commission for the People's Councils. As early as September, 1960, the dark clouds started to form over Barák's head when remarks were made in parliament by Novotný's representative Vavra about "socialist legality" being violated by members of the People's Councils "whose functionaries are only too little acquainted with the legal regulations."

A few days later the communist **Rudé Právo** pre-

sented examples to shed more light on scandals which, though not begun under Barák, continued under his administration. It was learned that strange business was being conducted at the machinery and tractor stations in Znaim. Instead of repairing the mowers, trade was booming in ladies lingerie. Pullovers, coats and silk stockings were being bought up from large firms and immediately resold to their industrial enterprisers with a boost in price of 10 per cent. The profit of 226,000 crowns was divided up. Since the district "People's Council" was probably bribed, there was, it was thought, small likelihood of being caught.

In the fall of 1961, the National Assembly even passed a resolution in which it indirectly invited Barák to clean up the thievings and damage to socialist property and to put a stop to the plethora of "unjustified local interests" wherever it was taking place at the expense of the overall economy. Even with the best of intentions Barák could not possibly have righted the situation in such a short time, partly because many of his people were among the People's Councils and he did not want to or could not be too rough with them, since they knew too much.

While in office, Barák spoke of many existent abuses that ought to be corrected. The "people's" court wanted to know why he did practically nothing to solve the problems he so frequently spoke of...and then sentenced him to 16 years in jail. Communism devours its own children!

Simon Jurovský, head of the Slovak National Theater opera productions, celebrated his 50th birthday in Bratislava. He was born in Ul'anka, near Banská Bystrica, February 8, 1912.

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Rudolph Barák, Czech Communist and sadist, who served the Prague regime as Minister of the Interior before he was kicked "upstairs" to become Deputy Premier, was arrested early in the year,

thrown out of the Czech Red Party, and condemned to 15 years in jail. According to the Prague radio broadcast of February 8, Barák had misused and abused his power and helped himself to money that belonged to the socialist state.

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SLOVAKIA, according to statistics recently released, had a population of 4,220,000 at the end of December, 1961.

A "LUMUMBA UNIVERSITY" IN PRAGUE

By Adolf Tosch

Approximately one year ago a university was founded in Moscow to accomodate several thousand students from the underdeveloped countries. Obviously it is intended that education be given along communist lines. The name of the murdered Congolese communist sympathizer, Patrice Lumumba, is supposed to attract all the people previously or still under colonial rule in such manner as to convince them of the benevolence and unselfishness of the first socialist world State and to win for Prague trustworthy and grateful supporters who will cooperate, together with their respective nations, with the communist States. This new school of higher learning, equipped to hand out an abundance of scholarships, hopes to draw promising young folk to its halls, serve as a central training center for specialists and radiate like a lighthouse of Soviet scientific and cultural achievement into all four corners of the globe.

A similar university has now opened its doors in Czecho-Slovakia, the new "University of November 17." Its first students were the high school graduates of the class of 1962. By no means a competitor to the Soviet Russian Lumumba University, this new Czech institution does hope to improve international and political relations by peaceful means. Economic factors play an important role, too, since the ČSR, with its growing industrial potential, is seeking to dispose of its products in new markets as they open up. To this end it has need of native experts in the various foreign countries concerned. The very name of this new school confirms this surmise; after all, its purpose is to strike a blow at the German Federal Republic, presently a serious bar to Czech economic expansion. Actually there is no connection between the closing of the Czech universities on November 17, 1939 by the National Socialists and this new school. The name has been chosen strictly to serve domestic and foreign propaganda.

At present there are 1,800 foreign students in the ČSR from 70 different countries. The Africans are the largest group, welded together in the Union of African Students (Učiteľské noviny, November 17, 1961). Fifty per cent of them are students of medicine, thirty per cent technology and about twenty per cent are enrolled in economics courses. The remainder are pursuing other specialized fields. All foreign — for the most part colored — students are registered at the School of Economics in Prague. (Tvorba 47-1961). A new regulation has gone into effect, however, stipulating that new arrivals shall belong to the new university, be registered there and put into strict camps where they will be briefed in preparation for their studies and groomed for contact and association with the native population. In October 1961, for example, 44 students arrived from Cambodia, Mexico, Cameroun, Angola, Chile, Columbia, and Argentina to enroll in a one-year course in the Czech language. They were quartered in a former court house building in Dobruschka in northern Bohemia. In November, 1961, 120 Cuban students of a total of 200 were sent to Senec and Topolčianky for a course in Slovak, while the rest presumably went to Dobruschka.

It would seem that so far the foreign students have caused the universities quite a headache, partly because of the varying types of college preparatory training and also because of difficulties with the language. A variety of political reasons are also involved. These problems have led the authorities to formulate new regulations for foreign students which include, as far as the University 17th of November is concerned, courses in the Czech and Slovak languages, plus a technical knowledge of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and descriptive geometry. The language courses given at the Slovak centers of Senec and Topolčianky are part of preparatory schooling for as many as 100 students (Praca 298-61). The first group of freshmen were registered with great ceremony on December 12, 1961, by the rector of the new university, Dr. Jaroslav Martinic. The

group consists of students from Iraq, Iran, Cameroun, Jordania, Mali, Sudan and several dozen other African, Asian, Latin American and European States, as well as students from Bulgaria and even the Soviet sector of Germany. The student in this age group may enroll at one of the other Czech or Slovak schools of higher learning or may continue his studies at the two other schools of the University 17th of November, i.e., the School of Natural Sciences and Technology and/or the School of Social Sciences, which are to open their doors at the beginning of the 1962-63 school year.

The difference between the two kinds of university education lies in the fact that schooling at the regular Czech universities applies to Czecho-Slovak conditions and is very heavily specialized, even where curricula have been altered to meet the needs of individual foreign students, especially from the underdeveloped countries. On the other hand, courses at the University 17th of November are much broader and not as thorough. At the School of Natural Sciences and Technology, for example, teacher training courses will be introduced plus construction engineering. This decision was made, according to Rector Martinic, because political economy in the underdeveloped countries is still in its infancy. It will take time for it to reach a point where special training in that field becomes requisite. For the present a student interested, for example, in bridge construction must attend one of the other universities.

In the School of Social Sciences, teacher training courses will be given for those desiring to teach in the elementary and secondary schools and a course in social sciences, combined with the training of political functionaries, will also be added. The regular schools (faculties) within the University of November 17 are counting of complete or partial instruction in one of the world languages (English, French, Spanish), to facilitate communication between instructors and students. One year's instruction in Czech or Slovak alone will not suffice.

Five or six years are required for a student to com-

plete his university education in a specialized field such as technology. This period is one year longer for foreign students requiring language training. Curriculum planners have proposed shortening the length of study for foreigners in certain subjects while keeping the quality at university level, a step that would speed up the training of national specialists for the countries concerned. The subject matter would be highly concentrated and much more practical than theoretical.

The University of November 17, with its three schools, is intended to become a uniform, State center for the training of foreign students in the ČSR. It seems quite likely that study at this university will become more and more strict, new curricula will be worked out and rigid controls put into operation. Its status is to be raised by granting it authority to issue diplomas and by setting certain standards of achievement. Those of the School of Social Sciences are of particular interest as this school trains teachers for elementary and secondary schools and offers courses in the particular field of social sciences which is combined with the training of political functionaries. This fact seems to characterize most accurately the purpose behind the founding of this new university.

Czecho-Slovak teachers are also assigned to tasks abroad. They assist, for example, in the African school system where they not only teach but also "organize the school system" (Mladá Fronta 285/61). An exhibition of polytechnical teaching in Conakry is designed to popularize Czecho-Slovak experiences, although this type of teaching has been introduced in Czecho-Slovakia itself only a short time ago for experimental reasons. Furthermore the inhabitants of Africa are shown pictures of the education and culture of the ČSR, a culture to which the Communists themselves have contributed but very little, for the culture of Czecho-Slovakia is still minted by an older, Occidental past.

SLOVAK LESSONS — a two year course for adults — is still available. Bound in cloth — \$3.50.

MAJORITY QUILTS "COUNCIL OF FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA"

A recent statement of the so-called **Council of Free Czechoslovakia** revealed the break-up of that organization. Leading members left the US-subsidized Council and founded a new organization in exile calling it "Committee of Free Czechoslovakia." The Committee's secretaries, Arnošt Heidrich and Jozef Lettrich, claimed that the Council was composed "only of National Socialists and satellites of Dr. Peter Zenkl" and that the members of free democratic Czech parties had no seat and say in it.

The new Committee is said to represent the Catholic Czech Peoples Party, the Czech Agrarian Republican Party, the Slovak Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party, as well as Czech, Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian personages of no party affiliation.

Proponents of self-determination and independence for Slovakia are excluded.

Among those who quit the Council of Free Czechoslovakia were: V. Bernard, Josef Černý, V. Fedinec, A. Heidrich, Fedor Hodža (son of the late Czech premier), Holub, M. Kvetko, J. Lettrich, T. Lipcik, V. Majer, J. Mrazek, Štefan Osuský, Adolf Procházka, L. Sliva, and M. Tumliřová. Dr. V. Brdlík, who was also named among the dissenters, did not confirm the news that he, too, had left the Council, saying that he did not know anything about it.

The present quarrels among Czechs and Slovaks in exile are mainly caused by the questions of citizenship and membership in the Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN). Regarding the question of citizenship, the dissenters claim, the Council officers violated the constitution by admitting members who no longer were Czech-Slovak citizens. The Council on the other hand, holds that Czech citizenship is not a prerequisite for membership in the Council.

More serious is the dispute about the Council's membership in ACEN. The Assembly of Captive European Nations accepts as members only persons who have main-

tained their former citizenship in East European States. According to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, this regulation does not affect membership in the member organizations who send their representatives to ACEN.

The Assembly of Captive European Nations is, indeed, intended as an organization for exiled politicians. It was launched and financed with U. S. help. Its members receive a modest salary. Some of the older exiled politicians have only this to live on.

Besides there is a parallel organization, the "American Friends of Captive European Nations," which is composed of American citizens only.

The members of the Committee of Free Czechoslovakia, including some of the most prominent Czech and Slovak politicians in exile, managed to receive recognition as representatives of Czecho-Slovakia by the Assembly of Captive European Nations. Later the ACEN main executive committee revised its opinion and reserved six seats of the Czecho-Slovak delegation to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. The Council, however, is claiming all seats for itself.

From the news thus far received it seems as if most prominent Czech and Slovak exile leaders have joined the dissenting Committee of Free Czechoslovakia, leaving behind in the Council only Dr. Peter Zenkl (who after the war served under Communist Party boss Klement Gottwald as deputy prime minister), Dr. Juraj Slavik (a pre-war Czecho-Slovak ambassador to Warsaw and native Slovak), and Dr. Jiří Horak. — S. B.

"CZECHOSLOVAKISM VERSUS AMERICANISM" — an exposé of the pro-Soviet "National Fronters" in the so-called Council of Free Czechoslovakia — is a 48 page booklet published by the Slovak League of America, which should be read by every one seeking the answer to the question of how "Czecho-Slovak democracy" converted to a "people's democracy." Send 25 cents (coin or stamps) to the SLOVAKIA for your copy today.

CZECH REDS BOOST RED AIMS IN CUBA

For over a year transports have been rolling from Polish and former German eastern ports, loaded with war material for Castro's Cuba. Czech weapons depots and barracks have been combed over and practically all German rifles and heavy artillery left from World War II were prepared for shipment, some of which were still being used by Czech soldiers.

The Czech general staff readily dispensed with tanks of the T-34 type, however, and the Škoda anti-aircraft guns, since they are being regularly replaced by the latest T-54 tanks and anti-aircraft missiles. The Cuban crisis gave the Czechs an opportunity to discard some of their old supplies and pocket a pretty penny on the deal. The tanks and heavy guns were shipped without munition, which was allegedly "forgotten."

More than 500 Czech officers and non-coms are said to have entered Cuban barracks along with the aforementioned supplies, where they immediately set to work to train Cuban men and women in their use.

During the big military parade on January 4, 1961 — celebrating the second anniversary of the Cuban revolutionaries — there were even Czech officers and non-coms seated in the tanks that filed past Fidel Castro. It may be assumed that the natives were still not adept enough at running them to take over the controls themselves. They may be now.

While all this is going on in Cuba, Prague is turning out tons of propaganda for Cuban consumption. Castro and his henchmen can rely on their Czech helpers whose methods and measures have been tried out successfully in other countries.

Prague credit to Castro to the tune of \$20 million was cited in Novotný's propaganda organ in small print. This sum does not seem to have been exhausted, for at the close of 1960 president of the Cuban National Bank, Commandant Dr. Ernesto Guevaro was reported in Prague

to arrange not only additional arms allotments but munition for the tanks and artillery guns and the exchange of more officers and specialists. At the beginning of 1961, at least 200 Cubans went to Czecho-Slovakia to get practical experience in larger industries there.

While the Czechs are doing everything they can to aid material ends, they are also trying to put a peaceful foot forward by sponsoring expositions in Havana. Plans for these shows were prepared by the Brno architects Denk and Pospišil. The Czechs want to show the Cubans just what socialism looks like. They will display all kinds of Czech export goods including Prague hams, Pilsner beer, all kinds of machinery and, of course, their brand of plum brandy (Slivovice).

BOOK REVIEWS

Gilbert L. Oddo: **Slovakia and Its People**, New York, Speller and Sons, Inc., 1960, xi-361 pp., \$6.00.

Professor Oddo, a native-born American, undertook a difficult and demanding task in coping with a phase of the history of a country whose language he has not mastered and to whose national archives and other institutions he has never had access. Consequently, in an objective approach, he had to rely on sources (scarce as they are) published in English and French. In analyzing works in the Slovak language, or studying documents in the archives of Slovak cultural associations in America, (there are over two million Americans of Slovak origin, with a score of associations, newspapers and periodicals), he was aided, according to his acknowledgements, by several Slovak intellectuals, professors and linguists, teaching at Canadian and American universities, and by their English language works in

the form of yet unpublished manuscripts.

Reviewing the end results, one can be grateful for Prof. Oddo's limitations, which forced him to a difficult process of research and writing, as they work to the advantage of the reader, providing him with a critical Slovak version of the country's history from the ninth century to the present day. Oddo's version, markedly objective and comprehensive in its assessment and critique of Slovakia's historical movements, will, of course, contrast with previous interpretations by Professors Thomson, Bušek-Spulber, Kerner, etc., who were markedly influenced by Czech sources.

The history of Slovakia is a subject which, in languages other than Slovak, was until recently given the silent treatment; and the little that was reported was done so incompetently and without adequate research, and — in Professor Oddo's views — not without unnecessary prejudice.

His book will, therefore, naturally stimulate controversies.

By his own admission in the Introduction to his work, Professor Oddo saw that part of his task lay in helping to "expose and expel myths which, for one reason or other, have found their way into the long and poignant history of the Slovak people." Basically, the author attempts to expose the myths that (1) the Czechs and the Slovaks are now and always have been a cultural, linguistic and national unity; (2) that Czecho-Slovakia was the "picture democracy" of the post-Ver-sailles Europe; and (3) that the Slovak Republic was not a natural development in the history of the Slovak people.

The author gathered many available sources and investigated arguments pro and con to prove his points and draw his conclusions, and they are mostly correct. His style is clear and plain. Students of history, unfortunately, may be inconvenienced in the arrangement of references, which the author mentions at the end of the book and will miss footnotes.

Since the thesis of a distinct national, cultural and linguistic Slovak entity has been generally accepted in recent years, the author will not encounter much objection on this point from the students of Central European history. However, as for the "picture democracy" of pre-war Czecho-Slovakia, many readers, accustomed to the standardized picture presented for over four decades in so many works, may hesitate to accept Prof. Oddo's newly-presented version, even though it has been corroborated by the views of C. A. Macartney, H. A. Gibbons, F. Lee Benms, and some Slovak historians or by such "Czechoslovak" politicians as the for-

mer Premier Milan Hodža (in his **Federation of Central Europe**).

The most difficult task for American readers and students of modern history will be, of course, to accept Prof. Oddo's interpretation of the origin and political organization of the Slovak Republic which emerged in Central Europe on March 14, 1939, after Czecho-Slovakia had been abandoned at Munich by the European Great Powers, and thus left at the mercy of Hitler's Germany. The war propaganda and several symposia, inspired mostly by emigre politicians and intellectuals, injected into the minds of millions who fought German expansion an adverse image of Slovakia and her wartime existence as a Republic. It cannot be assumed that Prof. Oddo's book will suffice to expel all the myths about the origin, international recognition and war policy of the Slovak Republic, which had already penetrated into the American historiography, before several serious and comprehensive works were written on the basis of scholarly research and international documents. The difficulty for Canadian and American readers in accepting Prof. Oddo's interpretation of the Slovak Republic will perhaps be greatly reduced in light of present-day American policy and heavy responsibility in preventing newly independent small and buffer countries from either being exploited by or seeking protection in alliance or aid from adversaries attempting to upset the balance of power.

Slovakia and Its People comprises twelve chapters and, in addition to outlines of historical events, it deals also with the cultural and economic life of Slovakia. One chapter deals with Slovak emigration and its role in Slovak national life. Several maps,

bibliography and index add to the value of the book which, containing the basic information about Slovakia and the Slovaks in a popular rather than scholarly style, is a new contribution to English written literature on Slovakia and has its value for ordinary readers as well as for scholars.

J. M. Kirschbaum,

University of Montreal.

(A reprint from *Slavic and East European Studies*, Vol. VI, Part I-II, Montreal, 1962).

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H. G. Adler: **Die Juden in Deutschland.** From the Enlightenment to National Socialism. Kösel-Verlag, Munich, 1960; 178 pp., DM 6.80.

National Socialism produced nothing really new, particularly anti-Semitism, although it remained for said regime to exercise it in the modern age in an apocalyptic way. H. G. Adler is a Jew from Prague, survivor of the concentration camps of Theresienstadt and Auschwitz, who has analyzed the origins of anti-Semitism, the Emancipation, and the plight of the Jews in Germany.

The results of the author's endeavor are procurable in a small book prolific with quotes and sources. Adler candidly acknowledges that during the Middle Ages a Jewish problem was possible only in Germany because the European national States, after a period of severe oppression "divested themselves of their Jews" by means of expulsion, England in 1290, France in 1306, (and after temporary readmittance, again in 1393), Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1497."

Hatred of the Jews was due for centuries to their belonging to a different religion; the solu-

tion lay therefore in conversion to Christianity or by remedying their "otherness." Heine spoke of his baptism as the "ticket of admission to European culture." Yet the position of the Jews in Germany was as varied as the very diversified nature of the First Reich itself. As late as 1817, for example, the English province of Hannover quite firmly resisted the proposed emancipation of the Jews which had been sought by Christians and Jews alike ever since the Enlightenment.

After the founding of the Second Reich religious difference was, to be sure, no longer the true cause of anti-semitism, for in the Bismarckian constitution one's religious affiliation was irrelevant. Adler cites in addition to the long-standing religious aspect of the Jewish question German anti-Semites like the Berlin court preacher Stöcker, the Viennese Bürgermeister Lueger, Richard Wagner, Lagarde, and Fritsch. According to these a person's race and not religion was the cause of anti-Jewish feeling. One notes a breach in developments that is not bridged by any explanation and one wonders why this surprising change. Was it due to the rapid increase after 1871 of Jewish banking and trading firms, the entrance of Jewish lawyers, doctors and teachers into professions that had been barred to them hitherto? Was it due to envy of their quick social climb? Even during the period of religious anti-Jewish hatred the curse "His blood be on us and on our children" was not the sole reason for the pogroms, but also the desire to be rid of the annoying creditors. A similar trend developed in many large German cities in the "golden twenties."

German anti-Semitism, in the

final analysis, has come to be a stain not only on the name of Germany for years to come but has actually estranged one of the most ardent German protagonists throughout the world, the German speaking Jews. Adler's book shows primarily, too, the zeal with which the German Jews all over the world were ready to serve their people, a fact which is seldom remembered today.

L. Rainalter.

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Robert Kee: **Refugee World**, Oxford University Press, London, 1961; 153 pages.

"...to have been a refugee over a long period of years is to have built up an inner world of feeling and experience of which the outsider can often have little idea." It is this inner world, as well as the outer world, that Mr. Kee brings to the reader in a series of personal visits to refugees in Germany and Austria, in camps, in private huts, in abandoned buses, wherever they happen to be.

One immediately feels one is chatting with Ukrainians, Slovaks, Jugoslavs, Poles, Rumanians, with expellees, displaced persons, and with escapees. Possessed of a rare power of description, author Kee makes every new contact with his characters a unique experience.

Unfortunate is Mr. Kee's reference to an elderly couple he visited in Traiskirchen, Austria, as "Czech Volksdeutsche." The designation "Czech Volksdeutsche" is a misnomer, for the very word "Volksdeutsche" means ethnic Germans, and, in this case, Volksdeutsche from Czecho-Slovakia could only be either Sudeten Germans or the German ethnic people from one of the various "language islands" within Czecho-

Slovakia, e.g., Spišská Nová Ves or the (Spiš) Mountain region.

Slightly painful is the second incorrect reference to the same couple as "the old **Czech** couple who had walked out of Communist Czecho-Slovakia because the authorities had tried to suggest that they should do heavy work to keep alive." Painful because the Volksdeutsche, Sudeten Germans, and all other "expellees of German ethnic origin" were expressly denied any of the aids allotted to other displaced persons (DPs) under the IRO (International Refugee Organization) character, for the sole reason that they were German. The clause that stipulated their exclusion placed them in the same bracket with "Nazis and criminals."

The outstanding feature of Mr. Kee's book is its drive-home power which acquaints the reader not with vague and shadowy forms but with flesh and blood men, women and children.

Gratifying is the fair evaluation of Germany's part in handling the refugee problem that the country was confronted with in its own prostrate post-war condition when roughly nine million German expellees from the German East were shunted into the country to be housed, clothed, fed and employed. Mr. Kee says: "It is pointless to say that the Germans had themselves inflicted far more terrible suffering on even more people or, what is also true, that the vast majority of the Germans on whom this suffering was now inflicted had tacitly approved of such things being done to other people in the days when to be a good German was to be a good Nazi. Both mass deportations were crimes against humanity perpetrated for selfish political interests."

A point one might take excep-

tion to the statement that "the crime against the expelled Germans... was one more of indifference rather than calculation, as the Nazis' crimes had been." These informed, know too well that Edward Beneš and his accomplices planned meticulously the expulsion of three and a half million Sudeten Germans and said after ordering their expulsion: "Leave them only a handkerchief to shed their tears in."

The author is an Englishman writing for English readers primarily. This fact need not disturb other English-language readers for anyone whose interest runs from simple human curiosity and compassion to social service field work and other refugee and expellee experience in theory and practice will find Mr. Kee's book alive and informative.

Appendix "A" gives a nut-shell acquaintance with refugee situation World War II, and Appendix "B" with a few of the organizations working for refugees.

M. E. W.

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William L. Shirer: **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany**, Simon and Schuster, N. Y., 1960; 1245 pp., \$10.00.

In the guise of objective history this volume presents a harrowing, massive but one-sided record of unrelieved German crimes and blunders. William L. Shirer, foreign correspondent and news commentator, is also on the board of directors of the "Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc." of which Dorothy Thompson wrote (May 31, 1950) that it "has conducted a systematic campaign against any constructive peace with Germany... and vilified every person in public life who

tried to warn that procedure along Morgenthau lines would encompass the ruin of Europe."

Shirer does not allow that the Versailles Treaty was unjust (p. 58). He states that "Nazism and the Third Reich, in fact were but a logical continuation of German history" (p. 90). His piling up of Nazi crimes, failing to put them in perspective with the crimes of the opponents, never in fact alluding to the worst Soviet crimes, such as their brutal population transfers and their mass raping of not only German but also Hungarian and Austrian women, seem calculated to make any unwary reader hate more than ever the German people — now our allies — who tolerated the monstrous Nazis, and to think of the equally monstrous Bolsheviks, now our cold war enemies, as really not so bad!

In pages on the Nazi abuse of Soviet and Polish prisoners of war he does not once allude to the Soviet mass murder of Polish officers at Katyn. He never mentions General Vlassov and his insurgent Russians who preferred fighting for the Germans to living under the Soviets.

He gives good information on several German attempts to remove Hitler, three even before 1941, but he makes no reference to the Morgenthau plan, Communist-inspired, which was calculated to drive the Germans to desperate resistance instead of revolt. For the rest, despite distortions and some clear falsehoods, there is much interesting information in the book. Hitler is depicted as an uncanny genius, almost puritan, fanatically warped on loyalty and honor, pathologically anti-Bolshevik and anti-Jewish, absolutely against war with the West, but certainly plotting it against Poland and Russia.

Reading of Hitler's crimes and blunders in detail, deducting from facts that truly moral statesmanship anywhere from 1918 on could have prevented the colossal misery of World War II and after, makes one feel about the human race as Swift did.

In sum: more harmful than good except for trained historians.

A. J. App.

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Ernst Birke and Kurt Oberdorfer: **Das böhmische Staatsrecht in den deutsch-tschechischen Auseinandersetzungen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts**, published 1960 by N. D. Elwert Verlag, Marburg-Lahn; 147 pp.

The book offers four aspects on the question of historic Bohemian State Rights. While Richard Plaschka presents the Czech point of view, Helmut Slabnicka deals with the German side of the question. Eugen Lemberg writes on the Czech concepts of nation and State ideology. Kurt Rabl searches into the legal aspects and confronts the "historic State rights" with the rights of self-determination at the time when Czecho-Slovakia was created.

One key to understanding Czech-German relations, accords and discords, is to study the concept of Bohemian State rights. Bohemia, a constitutional entity within the old Habsburg Empire was partly inhabited by Czechs and partly by Germans. One of the debated questions within the two nations was whether the country should be divided into two administrative regions, a Czech and a German one, or whether it should be kept as an administrative unity. Although opinions were divided in both the Czech and the German camps, it can be said that, as a general

rule, the Czechs tried to maintain the feudalist concept of "crownland Bohemia" as a constitutional entity, while the Germans found that national and political developments in the nineteenth century made obsolete the old concepts of State rights. They strived for an administrative division of Bohemia into German and Czech districts.

It may be safely said today in retrospect that an administrative division of Bohemia into a German and a Czech part might have saved the country and both nations from numerous national rivalries and fruitless struggles. The history of Bohemia and with it the history of Czecho-Slovakia might have taken a different course, if the old feudalist concept of historic Bohemian State rights would have been replaced in time by a realistic and liberal concept of national equality and administrative separation.

People who give thought to a reorganization of Europe on the basis of self-determination and justice will find the contributions of the aforementioned authors in "**Das böhmische Staatsrecht**" most informative and a rich source for historic or international studies. In addition, copious footnotes provide a fine bibliography on the topic. — A. W.

Kozárovce in Slovakia has a farm cooperative that is not doing so well. According to Štefan Hano of Nitra (Pravda, Jan. 15, 1962), the young people have run off to the factory in Ilmačie and those over fifty spend more time as musicians, playing at weddings, birthdays, anniversaries, etc., than as farm workers. Their favorite tune: "Neorem, nesejem, všetko samo sa mi rodí" (I plow not, I sow not, everything grows by itself for me)!

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SLOVAKIA: The city of Kremnica, famous for its gold and silver mines, minted money for centuries. Castle and City Hall in the foreground.